

# CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE



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## EDITORIAL

The *Chronicle* appears this year at its normal date following the exceptionally early publication of the special Becket issue in 1970. The Contents list also marks a return to the traditional pattern, in that the articles are a good deal more varied in subject than the closely concentrated group which seemed appropriate to the special circumstances of last year's souvenir number. Several items bear more or less directly on the role of Canterbury and similar cathedral establishments as centres of learning and research; in this connection we are particularly glad to welcome a contribution from Miss Anne Oakley, successor as Cathedral Archivist to Dr. William Urry, who has been for so long a popular and admired figure among the Friends. Among other articles, there are reviews of books likely to be of interest to Friends.

As always with a publication of this kind, which is dependent on the generosity of contributors in providing time and thought to production of interesting articles and reviews, it is a very pleasant duty sincerely to thank them all. The *Chronicle* has for many years been held in respect and affection by readers all over the world. It is our hope that it may continue to be so held, and that we shall number among our future contributors as many people distinguished in their particular fields as we have until now. A list of contributors to this issue is given on page 2. Familiarity with some of the names from a reading of recent Chronicles increases, if anything, interest in the different subjects on which they now write; for the essence of the *Chronicle* is that it should evoke ever-stronger feelings of friendship for and links with Canterbury Cathedral, and specialised knowledge plays an important part in this.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

# THE BECKET COMMEMORATION 1970

## A RETROSPECT

by Gerald Peacocke

“The last temptation is the greatest treason:  
To do the right deed for the wrong reason.”

As John Westbrook's rich and vibrant voice spoke these famous lines from T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* night after night last autumn in the glorious setting of Canterbury Cathedral's Nave, I never failed to find a new excitement of climax in them. Looking back on last year's events now, they can serve as an introduction to the entire year of events in Canterbury. For it was clear both before and during the long and varied sequence of events that there were many who were happy to enjoy another "Festival" in Canterbury, but were unhappy over the person commemorated. There were those who were wrongly convinced that the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury and with them the entire Anglican Church were not so much commemorating a man who left an indelible mark on Canterbury and history, but really engaged in an elaborate manoeuvre to sweep aside the Reformation and shepherd us all into the welcoming arms of Rome. The controversial attitudes and arguments gave the entire year a piquancy and intellectual vigour that proved a great stimulus and so set Canterbury 1970 apart from the blander festivals at other times in other places.

It is not my concern here to argue the merits and demerits of Becket the man and churchman, except to say that for me—a reasonably unprejudiced and intelligent layman, I hope!—the contents of last year's *Chronicle*, and most particularly the articles by David Knowles and Robert Franklin, put the whole matter into the correct perspective. I cannot find any intellectual or spiritual cause for regretting my two years' work with the Dean and Chapter on the commemoration—on the contrary, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity presented by two so rewarding and enriching years.

By now, it all seems almost distant, yet the mind is crammed with memories, the palate knows the after taste of the delicious flavour of success, the occasional bitterness of disappointment. So let me examine just some of these memories, for this article cannot and must not seek to cover every single event yet again!

At the end of 1970 we sat down and calculated as well as we could the number of people who had attended one or other of the special services, a concert, a play, an exhibition, *Son et Lumière*. The total very approximate figure was 250,000. A service, concert or play has two restrictions on it, of course: it takes place at a specific time on a specific day and may need advance booking to secure a seat. An exhibition has neither difficulty, so it was not surprising that of all events, the colourful, free Chapter House Schools Exhibition (*Becket, Canterbury and the Christian World*) should have had some

75,000 visitors—and that is probably an under-estimate. The potential success of exhibitions within the Cathedral's buildings was proved again recently with the Exhibition of Vestments and Embroidery in St. Anselm's Chapel and the staging of a second Library Exhibition. Here are useful pointers to the future. An exhibition is, of course, bound to succeed in the Cathedral: festival or not, the flood of pilgrims and visitors to Canterbury Cathedral rises year by year, and as they walk round the lovely building in their quest for Becket and for beauty, an exhibition is an additional inducement. The Friends did the Cathedral a great service two years ago by giving a large quantity of excellent gallery furniture for exhibitions. The many schools who participated in last year's long-running effort will be well pleased, I am sure, and no doubt we shall see something similar again before long.

Considering the fact that the Nave's impossible acoustics could not be entirely overcome, Martin Browne's production of *Murder in the Cathedral* was an astonishing triumph. I saw every rehearsal in Canterbury and every performance and still found something new and fascinating at the end. It was an experience of spiritual depth, of exquisite English marvellously spoken, of visual beauty transcended to awe in the final tableau accompanied by the soaring notes of Cooper's *Gloria*. It will have pleased all except those who wanted a radical re-interpretation of the play. But for me, behind-the-scenes and front-of-house, the richest memory is the personal one of the relationships established for that one autumn month with all those who played their part in seeing the play through: the producer and cast, the technicians, the box office staff, the stewards, the programme-sellers, the vergers, the works staff, the contractors.

It will be a long time before the Cathedral will again experience the rich diet of drama and music of last year, a fare enriched by the contributions of the King's School with its unfailing standards and the many other organizations who contributed their show. The musical side was so varied and good that it is invidious to isolate. All who read this article and came to our concerts will not have forgotten them. So I will content myself with pin-pointing the major premières of the year: Patric Dickinson's and Alan Ridout's *The Quarrel*, performed twice under Allan Wicks, in the series of July concerts and at the final service of the year on 29th December, the day of Thomas Becket's Martyrdom; Mike Gibbs' mysterious and moving jazz composition, *In the Beginning*; Rachel John's and Laurence Bevenot's dramatic cantata, *Becket*, the contribution of the Roman Catholic community in Canterbury, played in the Crypt; Ian Kellam's *The Seventh Tuesday of Thomas*, performed by the St Thomas's Hospital Choir and Orchestra. Two plays were also created and performed: *Various Oppressions* by the King's School under Christopher Gillespie, and David Starsmeare's *Pilgrimage* by the Simon Langton Boys' School. And then, too, there was Robert Gitting's *Son et Lumière* script, *Conflict at Canterbury*.



The marvel of last year was the concentrated harmony of works of the spirit, works of the intellect, works of art, and acts of worship. These last truly fulfilled their purpose in seeking at one and the same time to commemorate the imperfect Archbishop, Thomas Becket, and to enlarge our Christian charity towards our neighbours of our own and other faiths and denominations. The year's highest point was, I think, reached on the day of the Translation, 7th July, when the huge sun-baked congregation at the Open-Air Roman Catholic Mass in the Precincts burst into sustained applause for the Dean and Chapter.

So what are the enduring marks of this momentous year? I should like to pick out the following in particular:

The mutual love and respect among Christians of all kinds that the Cathedral's boldness made possible.

The strengthened bonds and understanding between the City and the Cathedral.

The pilgrimage tours of the Cathedral that still the visitor's historical and architectural thirst and offer him spiritual bread as well.

The renewed vigour of the Friends, under John Nicholas, ever more determined to help preserve the life, soul, and fabric of our great Cathedral.

And then, too, there are the outward and visible signs of last year's efforts: the rows of new chairs in the Nave (not to everybody's taste and comfort, but what chairs are?); the marvellous lighting of Quire and Nave; the Corona viewing platform; Mr Day's carved figure of Christ in the South-West entry to the Cathedral, his working hands raised in blessing on all who enter and leave the building.

As I write, the memories crowd in: of the wonderful flowers that so appropriately closed the year 1970; of the mouse near the Queen Mother at the National Service on 15th July; of the (same?) mouse the following night, darting about behind Yehudi Menuhin's back as he filled the Cathedral with the sound of Bach's *Chaconne*; of Mr Menuhin's personality, of the sound of his playing all alone in the subdued lighting of the Crypt before the recital; of Janet Baker's dignity and consummate artistry; of Paul Tortelier's powerful, ebullient personality and playing—and so many more.

Were there any disappointments then? Yes, there were, but I will only mention the major ones. It was sad that critical and publicity coverage of all our endeavours was not greater in the national, daily, and Sunday papers. At all other levels the coverage was good, but the big guns of the press took little note. I was also personally sorry that not more people came to hear Mike Gibbs' remarkable concert in the Cathedral, surely one of the memorable achievements of the year.

If I am asked to select one item that I consider typifies the whole year, I have no hesitation in picking Henry Moore's Glenkiln Cross. In that uncompromising bronze that stood as sentinel outside

the Cathedral for several months was an exemplar of all that happened around it. Here was no truck with accepted standards and the views of others, here was one man's vision and expression, encouraging and calling forth argument, controversy, opinion, conviction, respect, puzzlement, wrath, love, hatred—every possible reaction. The same was true of the springboard of the entire year, Becket himself. And in that sculpture I personally saw both a cross and the suffering Christ Himself, a spiritual symbol and a human condition. Thus it united the godly and the human in the way that the Dean and Chapter so aptly planned and fully realised last year. In that spirit I shall cherish 1970 for the rest of my days and remember with pleasure my humble part in the events. None of it would have been possible but for the guidance and support of many, above all the Dean and Chapter, the Cathedral and Chapter Office staff, Peter Carpenter at the Marlowe, my Secretary Tatiana Smith, and the girls of the Friends Office.

# THE MONASTIC TRADITION

by Robert Franklin

Dom David Knowles' *Christian Monasticism* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, £1.75, or 90p paper) is primarily a narrative survey of the whole history of Monastic Orders of men in the Christian Church from their beginning in third-century Egypt to the present day. But it is also much more than that; a sustained meditation on the purpose, problems and fulfilment of the monastic ideal, culminating in an attempt to draw up guide-lines for its development in the future. In any estimate of the value of the book, these two elements in it must be distinguished and considered separately.

On a purely historical plane, one can only wonder yet again at Dom David's phenomenal ability to control a vast mass of material, and to dissect out the essential arteries of the monastic life without neglecting the coarser flesh of the world in which it was lived. He has so sure a sense of the evolutionary process in monastic organisation that the reader has no difficulty in following the steps by which the spiritual gymnastics of the desert fathers, crying in the wilderness, led to the bustling, bureaucratised communities of Cluny or Cîteaux. He refuses to perpetuate the historians' over-rigid distinction between the eremitic or lavraic form of the religious life and the coenobitic. For him, the vocations to solitude or to community life are differing responses to the same basic impulse, to seek a truly Christlike manner of existence. He shows how, in the early church, the two responses were interpenetrated, and he has an especial admiration for those forms of the monastic life which aim to combine the virtues of both. He quotes with approval the proud claim of the Charterhouse—"never refaced because never defaced".

Dom David is at his very best on Cluny. He cannot conceal his instinctive reaction that the great house built and ruled by St. Hugh represents the apogée of Western monasticism. For him the idea of the *Opus Dei* is a glorious aspiration, and not the embarrassing obstacle to simple works of charity which it can become in the hands of the secularly-minded. Dom David's summary of the ethos of Cluny could not be bettered:

"The monks of Cluny carried out what was then felt to be the *raison d'être* of the monastic order, the service and adoration and intercession for the whole of society, in the most superb setting and fashion. To be one of their number was a distinction such as is, in an army devoted to its drill, membership of the Brigade of Guards."

In spite of such unfeigned admiration, his historical balance remains undisturbed. He realises that there was something almost frenetic about Cluny, which could not hope to survive indefinitely at the same pitch of intensity. But his appreciation of the merits of liturgically-centred monasticism enables him to give a far subtler and deeper account of the rise of Cîteaux than is customary. He



sees the motives of Robert of Molesme and his followers not as a simple revulsion from decadence but as a desire for an alternative way of life. Undoubtedly they did feel that contemporary Benedictinism had moved too far from the spirit of its founder, but their solution was a development rather than an outright reaction. Unfortunately, Dom David's picture of Cistercianism in being is less illuminating than his explanation of its foundation. The overall image is obscured by his concentration on the controversy between St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable, an episode fascinating in itself, but peripheral to the history of the order. It is a pity that there is so little about the effects of the major Cistercian innovation, the lay-brotherhood, and its influence on the spiritual life of the choir monks. True, Dom David does note the consequences of the Cistercians' commercial enterprises, above all sheep-farming, in driving them back into contact with the world from which they had retreated. On the other hand, he hardly mentions the streak of ruthlessness which, by the end of the twelfth century, had gained them the reputation of being among the most unscrupulous litigators and practised forgers in Europe.

The summer and autumn of monasticism, as Dom David calls them, are dealt with fairly briefly, and he takes the opportunity to depart from his basic chronological framework with chapters on monastic buildings and Byzantine monasticism. The latter is frankly disappointing; pressure of space requires such a sketchy outline of the highly individualistic monastic framework of the East that it adds almost nothing to one's understanding of it. There is, however, a delightful vignette of life on the holy mountain of Athos, whose exotic rigidities have held such a powerful fascination for the Western traveller. A later chapter on Russian monasticism is open to similar criticism, and one cannot help feeling that Dom David might have done better to reduce his field of study and concentrate entirely on the West.

As soon as he reverts to the mainstream history of the Western monastic orders, the book regains its conviction and interest. The task of preserving a sense of balance and justice in portraying the decline of monasticism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has proved too much for a long line of historians, of all religious persuasions or none. Dom David accomplishes it effortlessly. His own experience as a monk gives him the insight to single out the *commendam* system (the appointment of abbots by secular or ecclesiastical authorities outside the monastery) as being the most deleterious of all the abuses of the later Middle Ages, from the point of view of the monks themselves. He knows all too well that when the abbot ceases to be the father of his community, all hope of a stable and profitable religious life is lost. His narrative of the suppression of the monasteries in England, perhaps the sorest point in the whole history of Western monasticism, and certainly one of the most vexed, is a model of detached, unemotional historiography.

The section on the revival of monasticism after Trent suffers somewhat from Dom David's decision not to cover the history of the non-monastic religious orders. Although the "new" orders, the scholarly Maurists and Vannists, the austere followers of de Rancé at la Trappe, and the teaching houses of the exiled English congregation at Douai and Dieulouard had an authentic inspiration from within monasticism, they also owed a very great deal to the ideals and activities of the Jesuits. Previous monastic revivals had centred on attempts to achieve a more profound realisation of the programme of St. Benedict; now this was combined with a more out-going attitude, a readiness to reconsider the role of monasticism within the wider context of the secular world.

This very fact makes it harder to understand the persecution to which monks were to be subjected in the eighteenth century. The English view of history, formed as it is by the watershed of the Reformation, fails to appreciate that the real testing-time for European monasticism came nearly two hundred and fifty years later. Dom David provides a salutary corrective to this false perspective, but he is curiously reticent about the reasons for the expulsions from France, Switzerland and Austria. At the time, the old canards of monastic decadence and corruption were trotted out again, but they have the air of rationalisations rather than explanations. Perhaps it was that the aggressive free-thinking monarchs and governments of the time found it psychologically impossible to accept the continued existence of institutions so inflexibly committed to a supernaturalist explanation of the universe. In any case, the result was the supreme irony that schismatic England came to provide a refuge for religious who had been driven from the "Catholic" continent.

In some ways, the most impressive part of the whole book is the chapters in which Dom David catalogues the extraordinary range of the monastic revival of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in terms both of geographical extent and of activities pursued. It should dispel once and for all the illusion that monasticism in the modern world is the preserve of an ill-adjusted few, seeking to escape the pressures of the real world. Although, as Dom David points out, the emergence of the third world is threatening to curtail the work of monks drastically, their record over the last century is a splendid one. They have been missionaries, doctors, teachers, and—Dom David is not afraid to use the word—civilizers. On the evidence here offered, it would be impossible to accuse monasticism of being either self-centred or, that favourite modern jibe, irrelevant.

In a work of this scope, where such broad generalisations are essential, it is inconceivable that there should not be a few minor errors. The most astonishing thing is that there are so few. It is not true, for instance, that the monks of Canterbury gave Thomas Becket "moral support" during his exile—on the contrary, members of his entourage were constantly writing to complain of the lukewarmness of their attitude. One other likely misunderstanding

should be cleared up. The members of Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, need not be alarmed by Dom David's comment on the English Reformation that "The only benefit accruing to the church or to education was the establishment of five new cathedrals and two colleges; both the latter, and one of the former were soon in turn suppressed." The colleges here referred to were those at Burton and Thornton.

Tiny flaws such as these are of no significance. Only at one point is Dom David really misleading, in his chapter on Anglican Monasticism. Here, for once, he is uncomprehending. The thought-world of the "high" Church of England always presents problems to a Roman Catholic observer, but Dom David's slightly snide commentary on the Anglican religious orders is unworthy of him. Oddly enough, it is in monasticism rather than in the life of the secular clergy that Anglicans of the Catholic branch of their church have found the most convincing solution to the problems of belief and discipline inherent in their doctrinal position. The Anglican religious have very largely escaped that self-conscious defensiveness which marks so many other Anglo-Catholics. Although Dom David clearly feels they have attached themselves to a tradition which is not their own, the reality of that tradition is beyond dispute.

Interwoven with Dom David's historical perceptions are his own, more personal, reflections on the monastic life, and these form no less important an element in the book. He writes always as one having authority, an authority derived directly from his own monastic status. His views command an especial respect, for no-one else writing in English at the moment can approach the depth of his knowledge of monasticism historically, and few at any time have evolved so consistent and penetrating a concept of what it should be. The very title of this book, *Christian Monasticism*, acknowledges that the monastic impulse is common to many religions, and Dom David never shirks the issue thus raised, whether it is a form of life consistent with the particular doctrines and demands of Christianity. As he himself points out, there have been those, throughout the ages, who have opposed the whole structure of monasticism as a derogation from the ideal of the Christian community. At the opposite extreme, it is possible to argue that the ethic of the gospels requires all believers to strive for the kind of perfection of life which monasticism offers to the few. Faced with this dilemma, Dom David takes a middle road. He accepts the validity of differing orders of Christian service, and indeed, suggests that they are implied in the gospels:

"... early apologists of monasticism were justified in holding that the ideal was as old as Christianity, and was based on the teaching of Christ. They could point to the call of Jesus to the young man . . . and those other words in which he spoke of those who made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. These were undoubtedly calls to a life of chastity and poverty, implying in one who followed them an unusually

strong and effective desire to imitate Christ; at the same time it is equally clear from other actions and words of Jesus that marriage and the ownership of property are consistent with the profession of Christianity."

This conclusion is not wholly theological; it is supported, as he claims, by the experience of the ages, that all societies must cater fully for all sorts and conditions of men.

There remains the question of the proper form for monastic life. Dom David is no narrow dogmatist, and he has a lively awareness of the virtues of the most disparate forms of the monastic life, from the idiorhythmic hermits of Athos to the almost military discipline of some twentieth-century German Benedictine houses. But he never disguises the fact that the rule of St. Benedict seems to him the greatest statement of a stable and spiritually successful monasticism. The merits he finds in it—"eminently practical"; "spiritually uncompromising . . . physically moderate and flexible"; "containing in a few pregnant paragraphs a fund of spiritual and human wisdom that can guide abbot and monks in all the vicissitudes of life"—are akin to the human characteristics which attract him in his two *beaux idéals* of the monastic life, Bede and Mabillon. Bede, for him, was "Simple, calm, industrious, affectionate, devoting his whole life and his great gifts to teaching and writing while he followed the quiet liturgical round of a large monastic family"; Mabillon was "Sane, humble, devout, observant, lovable and beloved . . . also the father of scientific medieval history and palaeography." It is a very English ideal of Benedictinism, eschewing the heroic virtues, and concentrating instead on moderation, charity, scholarship, and devotion to the *Opus Dei*. It implies, too, a distrust of the rigorist tradition, and this comes across most clearly in his narrative of the dispute between Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable. However hard he tries to preserve the balance between the two great luminaries of twelfth-century monasticism, his heart is always with Peter.

One might regard this predilection for a degree of compromise in monastic observance as no more than a personal viewpoint, interesting in itself, but without wider significance. But Dom David is concerned to show that the kind of monasticism he advocates holds the best chance of success for the institution as a whole, and his case is a powerful one. It becomes crucially important when he applies his prescription to the monasticism of the present day, and to the prospects for the future. He finds monasticism in a state of crisis, a crisis which has developed very recently indeed, in which a loss of sense of direction coincides with a sharp falling-off in new professions. True Benedictine as he is, he finds the solution in a reversion to the intentions of the Founder. He is not worried about inessentials, even the exact form of the horarium, so long as the basic spiritual framework laid down by Benedict is adhered to. However, this involves him in an attempt to determine the parameters of monastic life. He feels that one mainstay of the monk's daily life has been removed by the end of manuscript copying with the



invention of printing, and no wholly satisfactory substitute has been devised since. While conceding the necessity for some form of work beyond the performance of the liturgy, he wishes to exclude parochial duties or the running of a school, on the ground that they are incompatible with the regular, ordered pattern of a monk's day.

In these suggestions for the monasticism of the future, Dom David retains his consistency; but for once, his argument is less than convincing. The trend towards monasteries acquiring an external purpose for their life, which began with the Vannists and the Maurists, has continued since. Even Solesmes, founded in the nineteenth century as one of the long series of attempts to revert to the primitive truths of Benedictinism, had the scholarly investigation and restoration of the ancient liturgy as one of its chief *raison d'être*. Missionary activity of all kinds has come to be so central to the modern concept of monasticism that it must be regarded as the principal reason for increasing public approbation of the institution as a whole. The life of a great teaching monastery such as Ampleforth may interfere with the traditional round of the canonical hours; but it remains a superb exemplar of the interdependent community of brothers which was so central to St. Benedict's vision of the regular life. Dom David's outline of the future development of monasticism is a wise and practical one. But the extraordinary variety of the monastic response which he has traced in this excellent book is itself the reason for wondering whether the horizons are not wider than he believes.

# THE MOVING STAIRCASE

## AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EARLY ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE NORMAN STAIRCASE IN THE PRECINCTS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

by Colin Dudley

In about 1165, shortly before the murder of Thomas Becket, a drawing was made portraying Canterbury Cathedral and all the buildings of the monastery lying in its precincts (Fig. 1). The drawing provides much evidence of the arrangement and appearance of these buildings as they stood (apart from one or two minor alterations, *e.g.*, the addition of the treasury) at the time of Becket's death and during the first four years of the growth of the pilgrimage traffic before the eastern half of the cathedral was destroyed by fire in 1174.

This unique document, which was made with the aim of recording the layout of the new water-supply and drainage system of the monastery, is today preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, bound into the psalter of Eadwine, a monk of the Priory in the 12th century.

The paper that follows, here published for the first time, represents part of an extensive reappraisal of the architectural history of the Cathedral and monastic buildings from 1070 until 1220—a study that involves a reassessment of the reliability of the 12th century drawing as a guide to the appearance of the buildings.

From the following investigation, and from other related studies of a similar nature I have come to the conclusion that the Trinity College drawing is a far more accurate and reliable record of the appearance and arrangement of the Cathedral and Priory than has been appreciated hitherto.

The drawing has been reproduced many times, most recently in full colour in *The Flowering of the Middle Ages* edited by Joan Evans, and published by Thames and Hudson. A watercolour copy by W. Benwell is displayed in the Cathedral in the passage between St. Martin's chapel and the water-tower.

The Aula Nova, as it is named in the 12th century drawing, was a hall built, like many early medieval English houses, high off the ground, being supported by a vaulted semi-basement sometimes described as the "undercroft" or "sub-vault". It stood on the northern edge of the Priory grounds against the Court Gate, and near to the north gate of the city. It has also been known as North Hall, Strangers' Hall and Hog Hall. Today the library of the King's School (Fig. 3), a 19th century building in the style of the early 12th century, stands where the Aula Nova once stood. It is supported by the original arches (somewhat restored) of the 12th century undercroft. Each bay of the sub-vault measures approximately 17 feet north to south.

The Norman drawing depicts the Hall in the middle of the 12th century, a few years before Becket's murder, as standing upon an

undercroft three bays in length and thus only 50 feet long. The drawing also depicts the "Norman" Staircase; but this is shown not in its present position at the North end of the Library but 50 feet to the South against the southernmost bay of the vault and next to the Court gate.

The Staircase has certainly been in its present position since long before Somner published the following record in 1703<sup>1</sup>.

"I have done with them, and pass from thence to the Court-gate, commonly called the Porter's-gate, built (as I take it) by the old general Founder, Archbishop *Lanfranc*. On the North-side whereof stands an ancient Stonework pile, the North part whereof, *i.e.* from the stairs or ascent North-ward, is now Dr. *Cafaubon's* Prebends House: [Being the House formerly assign'd to the Ninth Prebendary; but now by exchange, it is assign'd to the Auditor of the Dean and Chapter. *N.B.*] The name of which Building is now quite lost, faving that some call it *Hog-Hall*; haply rather (as *Hogia, Hoga, Hogium* and *Hogum* is by Sir *Henry Spelman* (a) derived from the German *Hog*, signifying high or mounted) because of the high and lofty site and posture of it; than, as some dream, from the dressing of Hogs sometime in the *Undercroft* of it, a use for which it were absurd to think it built. Others from the site of it, call it, and so do some of the Church-Records, *North-Hall*, and (b) *the great Hall near the Gate of the Court, toward the North*. I find it also in some of the Church-Records called *Oriall*; but whether from the same Original with *Oriall-College* in *Oxford*, which name some conceive to be a corruption of *Aul-royal*, I leave to other men's judgments. But all this while we are without satisfaction for what use so strong and goodly a Foundation as this is, standing upon Vaults, and having to it a very graceful ascent by Stone-steps, beset on either side with small Marble Columns, and other (arched) Stone-work was intended, or how used in former time. If I may speak my opinion, I shall tell you (and I think rightly) what it was.

There was (you must know then) before the Dissolution, (as by St. *Bennet's* Rule there ought to be) Hospitality kept, and Entertainment afforded and allowed both at bed and board unto such Strangers (Travellers and Pilgrims especially) as resorting to the Monastery, should crave it of the Monks; and consequently there was a place in the Monastery set apart for that purpose. This place of Receipt they called (c) *the Hall and Chamber for the Reception and Entertainment of Strangers*. Now I am persuaded the present Building was that (d) *Hall and Chamber for Strangers*. I will give you my reasons.

First, it stood and stands most conveniently for the purpose, being by the Court-Gate, remote from the Monastery which strangers were not to pry into. And Archbishop *Winchelsea* his Statutes (e) making mention of the place, seem to intimate the standing of it within the Court (f) *Also the strangers Hall and Parlor, and all other Offices and Houses of the outward Court, &c.*

Secondly, the Cellarer had charge of it. Now the Pentice or Entry between the Court-Gate and his Hall, did (as it were) make them meet."

In 1777 Gostling recorded that the stone steps "being greatly worn, were within living memory, replaced with square tiles"<sup>2</sup>, an operation that could have occurred in about 1720 (Fig. 2).

The purpose of the New Hall was to accommodate the holding of the Prior's Court under the jurisdiction of the Steward of the Liberty. The Steward was a legal dignitary of considerable importance in the county. He possessed influence in the household of the King and acted as an official link between the royal administration and the Christ Church franchise. He held wide powers—fiscal, administrative and jurisdictional. He was required to supervise all the manor of the Priory, to hold the manorial courts, and to uphold the rights and liberties of the Church of Canterbury—its officials and tenants throughout the kingdom. In all this the Steward of the Liberty was assisted by stewards of the lands and by a host of minor officials.<sup>3</sup>

The Steward of the Liberty held court at the New Hall every three weeks from at least the middle of the 12th century. Hearings were held on the upper floor while the vaults below served as the Prior's gaol whence prisoners were brought up to judgement. The Hall continued in this use for long after Becket's death and three centuries later the Hall is referred to in a charter of Henry IV.<sup>4</sup>

"The Prior and the Convent of the Church and their predecessors having been used time out of mind to hold court at the North Hall within the Precincts of the said church which was called High Court . . . ."

The sub-vaults were for a few years in the 16th century used as a Royal Mint but c. 1800 were once more functioning as a gaol for French prisoners of war. (D. L. Edwards. *History of The King's School*. Faber, 1942, pp. 45-47.)

Nevertheless it is clear from many references that soon after the Becket murder of 1170 the great influx of pilgrims led to the hall on this site being known as "Strangers' Hall", being, in Gostling's words, "appointed for the entertainment of such poor pilgrims as had lodging and diet at the expense of the monastery."<sup>5</sup> The intermittent nature of the Court procedures made this extra function a possibility but the new development made it necessary greatly to extend the building portrayed in the Drawing and, as will be shown, to make drastic alterations to its magnificent staircase, c. 1180.

The name "New Hall" used in the Drawing suggests that the Hall was built shortly before the making of the Drawing which occurred c. 1165. This could have been in about 1160 and this date accords with the stylistic evidence of remaining mouldings and capitals. The "New" in the title also suggests that the building shown in the Drawing replaced an earlier building on the same site or of a similar purpose.



It will be seen from the Drawing that the water-supply led at that time to a well or washing-basin of some importance in or on the staircase (Fig. 9). The purpose of this basin is not known but one would suppose it to have been required for some form of ritual washing of hands by those passing judgement.

In the 1825 reprint of Gostling's *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury* the anonymous editor, in a footnote,<sup>6</sup> describes the appearance of the Hall and Staircase at that time as seen from the west:

"The site of land is now laid open and forms a small square from which may be seen in excellent preservation the arch above the summit of the staircase leading to the Stranger's Hall. Rugged columns also present themselves on either side which supported part of the building."

Gostling himself mentions the door in the south side of the staircase which can be seen today (Figs. 2 and 3) and which:

"leads down to a vault where by Edwine's drawing\* was a well or bason of which nothing now is to be seen."<sup>7</sup>

Writing in 1843<sup>8</sup> Summerly records certain depredations:

"In 1730 a portion of the Hall was removed and recently the remainder has gone with the exception of the arches on which it stood."

Summerly goes on to record the appearance of the Hall in 1843<sup>9</sup>:

"At the corner of the gateway on the north side are several Romanesque arches having in their dilapidated and useless state the look of a bridge. At a right-angle with these still further north is an ancient staircase of Norman build."

He mentions no other remains, but Willis in his plan of the ruins published in 1867<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 6), records remains which show the Hall to have been at one time about 150 feet in length from south to north. Willis also mentions the 13th century column which stands at the head of the staircase and has since been incorporated into the 19th century work.<sup>11</sup>

Thus we find that the twelfth century drawing is apparently in conflict with the archaeological evidence in two important respects:

- (a) The ruins existing in 1867 were those of a building three times as long as the building portrayed in the drawing c. 1165.
- (b) The staircase, which has stood in its present position since long before 1730 is portrayed in the drawing on a site 50 feet further to the south and immediately adjacent to the Court Gate.

Willis attempted to explain these apparent contradictions by suggesting that the Aula Nova and its staircase may have been only projects when the drawing was being made thus being either incomplete or not yet begun c. 1165.<sup>12</sup> This hypothesis, although only tentatively offered by Willis and unsupported by any evidence, has never been questioned.

There remains one question which, although one might regard it as self-evident, appears never to have been considered. When looking at this unique staircase one must ask the question "Why would the poorest class of pilgrim, or any but the most regal pilgrim, need such a splendid staircase to take him to his free meal and yard of straw?" This may well have been the purpose to which the staircase was eventually put, but it can never have been the purpose for which it was originally built. Its fine roof (oft-since reconstructed) could only have been intended for the protection of those high dignitaries, in particular the Steward of the Liberty, who held court here; their robes, documents, symbols, and instruments of office.

A simple flight of steps, such as those which stood in an exactly comparable position at Cluny at that time (Fig. 12),<sup>13</sup> would have been appropriate for the use of destitute pilgrims arriving at the monastery after weeks of travelling through wind and rain.

It is probable that the Steward of the Liberty needed the staircase for a purpose additional to that of simply climbing to and from the Court Hall. In addition to holding the three-weekly Prior's Court, the Steward was required to be present at the holding of the Bartoners' Court which was held at the door of the Brew-house. The open platform at the foot of the steps would have afforded a suitable and imposing shelter for the Steward on these occasions and I have little doubt that it was for this reason that the staircase was built in such a form, with its roofed open platform almost at ground level and within a few yards of the Brew-house.

It is clear that the staircase (after the death of Becket and the subsequent growth of the pilgrimage traffic) served a double purpose; to provide for the needs of the Steward and the Courts of the Priory (an occasional usage), and to provide pilgrims with access to their hall of hospitality. What, we may ask, was the point of placing the staircase almost half-way along the length of the Hall instead of at the nearest and most convenient place next to the Gate. Could it be that this central site was chosen in order to allow for the separation of the men from the women? A comparison with the equivalent arrangement at Cluny (Fig. 12) makes it clear that this must have been the case at Canterbury also.

We come to the problem of the difference between the site of the staircase recorded in c. 1165, and its situation today fifty feet further to the north. One obvious answer presents itself, *i.e.*, the Hall in 1165 was only about 50 feet in length, being mainly used by the Steward and having the staircase at its southern end next to the Gate and close to the Brewery. If we examine the present fabric we find archaeological evidence that bears out this hypothesis. At the place at which the drawing shows the staircase to be standing c. 1165 (*i.e.*, against the south arch of the east wall of the undercroft), we find a curious piece of construction (Fig. 4). Exactly at the level at which the steps would have entered the upper room at the top of the arch (everything above this is 19th century) we find three blocks of stone that have been set VERTICALLY and then marked

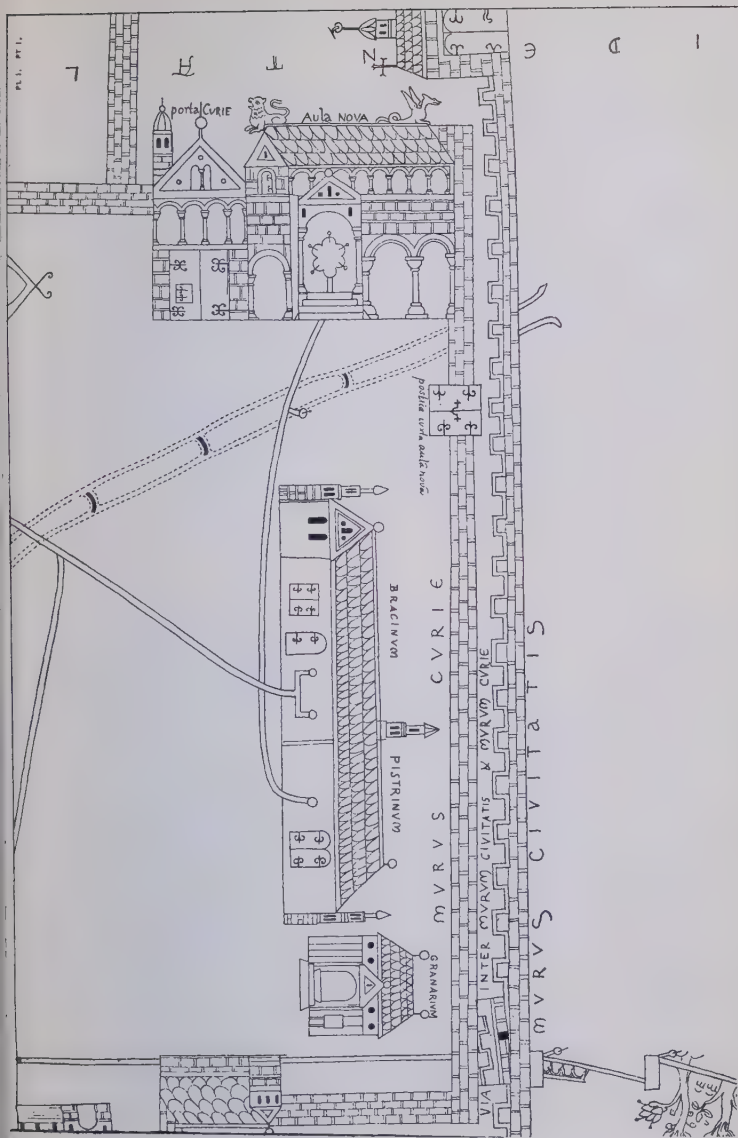
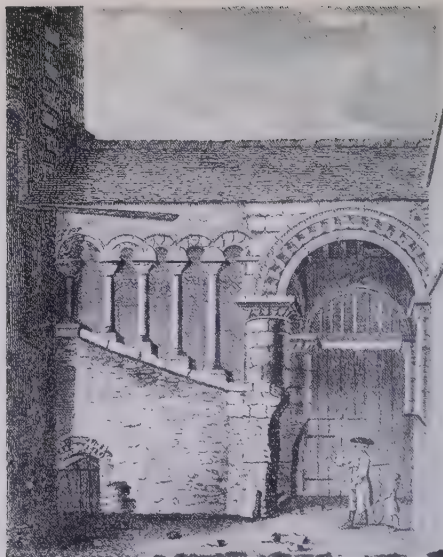


Fig. 1. Detail of the 12th century drawing of the Priory of Christ Church at Canterbury, c. 1165, showing the Aula Nova and adjacent buildings (from the tracing by Willis, *op. cit.* Plate J, Part I)



*Fig. 2. The Norman Staircase in 1782, from Grose's ANTIQUITIES, 1797 Edition, Vol. 1, page 113*



*Fig. 3. The Norman Staircase 1967, with the 19th century King's School Library standing upon the sub-vault of the 12th century Aula Nova and showing the situation of the vertically set blocks (see Fig. 4).*





*Fig. 4. The south arch of the sub-vault of the Aula Nova, east face, showing the three vertically placed blocks of stone indicating a gap filled.*



*Fig. 5. The Purbeck stiff-leaved capital (c. 1180) on the western face of the top of the Norman Staircase, south reveal.*

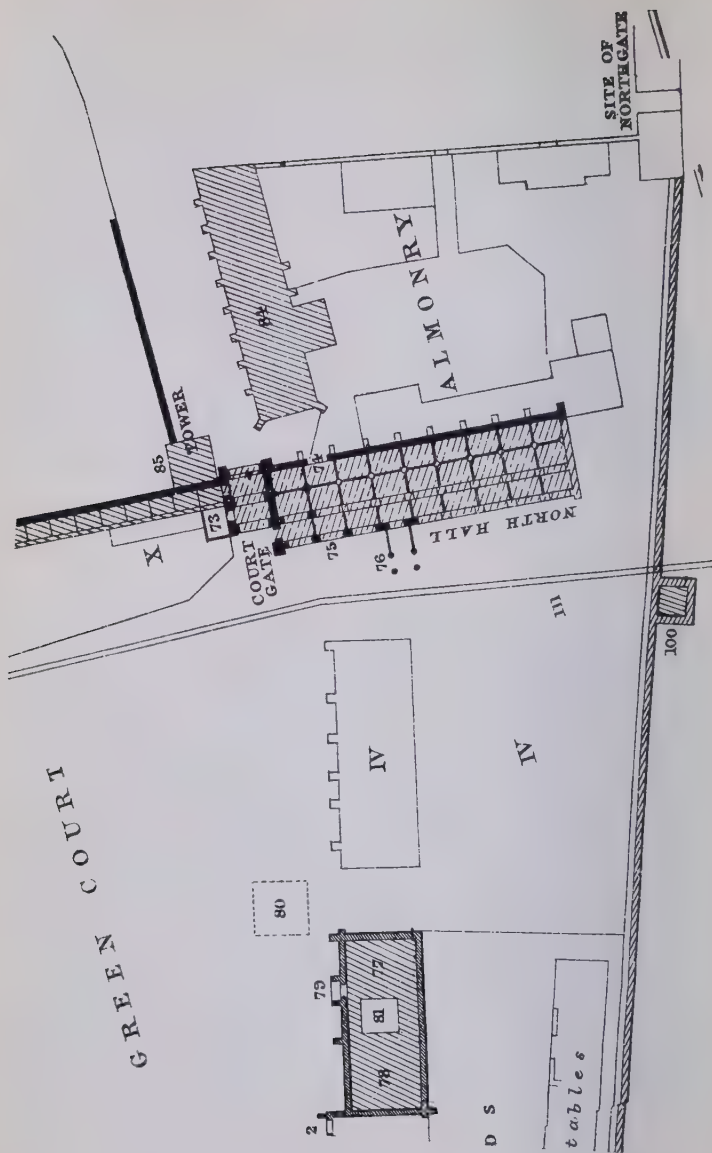


Fig. 6. Plan of the ruins of the Aula Nova as surveyed by Willis between 1845 and 1868

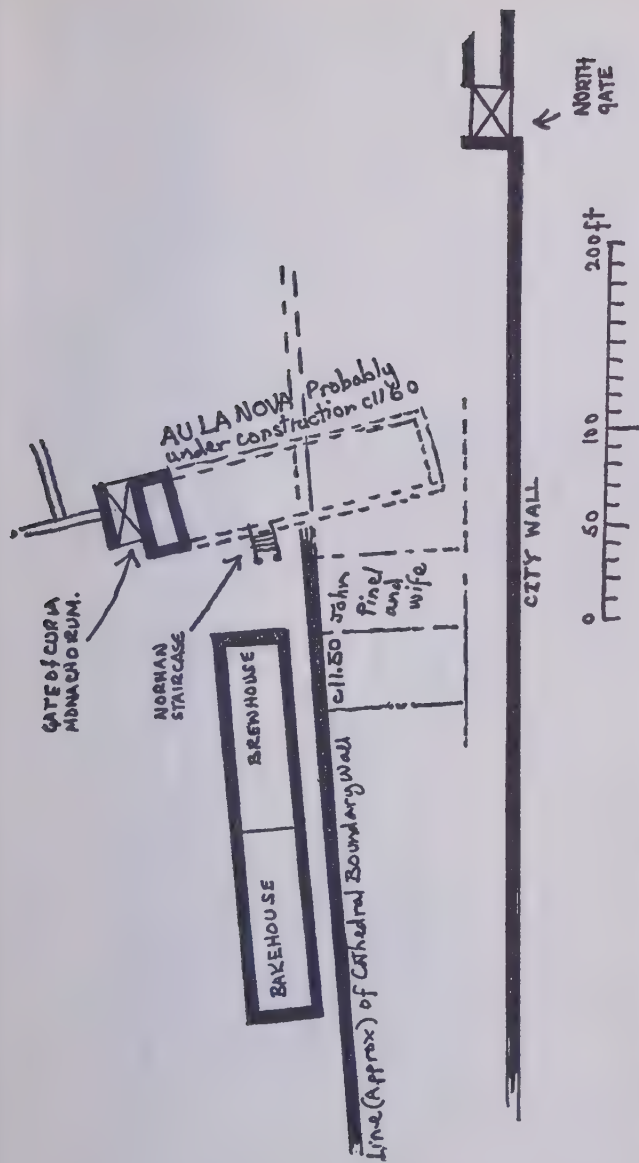


Fig. 7. Dr. William Urry's map of the north boundary wall of the Priory, c. 1150, calculated from the rent-rolls of the period (op. cit. Map 1b, Sheet 4)

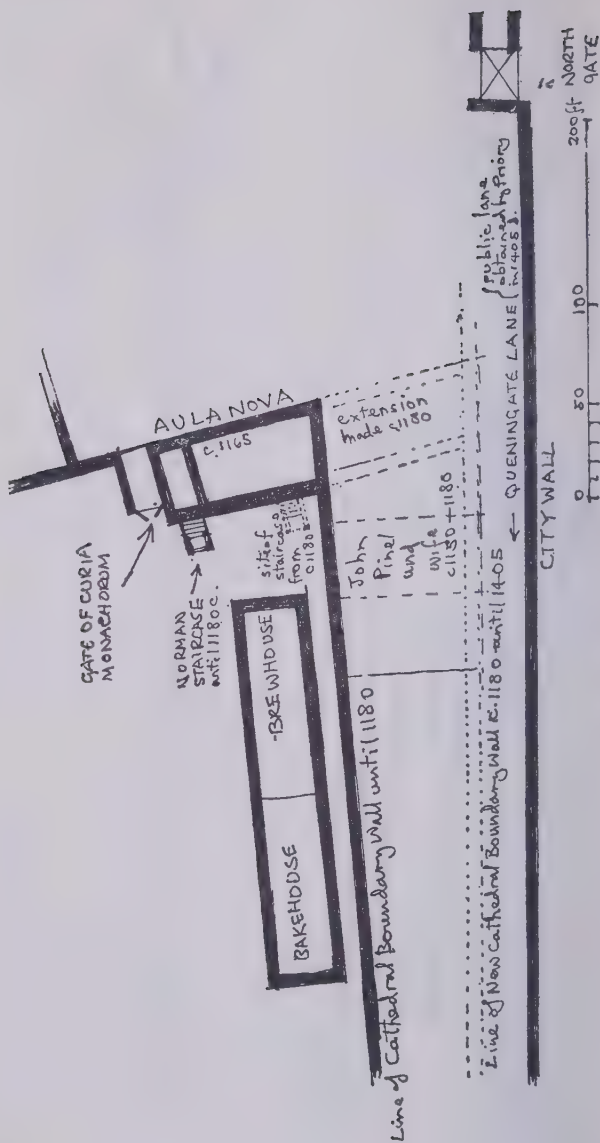


Fig. 8. Author's reconstruction of the history of the Aula Nova and its staircase and boundary wall between 1150 and 1405



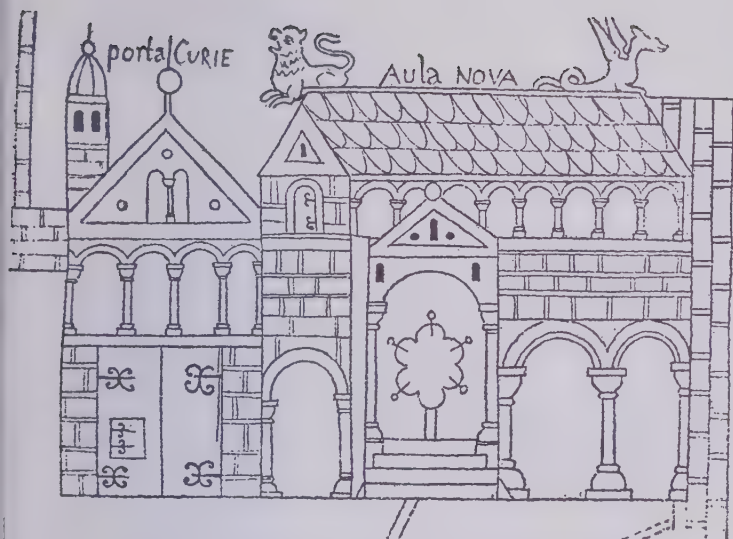


Fig. 9. The Aula Nova, c. 1165 (from Willis' tracing of the 12th century drawing, *op. cit.* Plate 1, Part 1).



Fig. 10. Author's perspective reconstruction of the Aula, c. 1165.



Fig. 11. Author's perspective reconstruction of the Aula Nova after 1180.



Fig. 12. The Guest House at Cluny Abbey (begun 1063) (after K. J. Conant, *op. cit.*).

with horizontal lines in order to give them the appearance of being set horizontally, in line with the original course. This is exactly what one would expect if a gap in the stone work had to be filled after the removal of one of the steps, which would have been one single long piece of hard stone.

Could this little operation have been carried out by the 19th century builders when they were constructing the pseudo-Romanesque library immediately above? When we consider the pedantic and mechanical manner with which the Victorian builders attempted to work in the Norman manner, and when we observe the sad deterioration in their masonry in comparison with the durable work of the 12th century one can only believe that if the three vertical blocks had been set in the late 19th century they would undoubtedly have been set horizontally in the "proper" manner, and in addition they would have disintegrated as badly as the rest of the 19th century masonry above. (N.B. The Norman work can usually be distinguished from the 19th century work by its relatively thick mortar courses. The 19th century work is set very tightly, cf. the Marble Pavement. Recent 20th century restoration of the 19th century work, however, appears to have been carried out in the authentic Norman manner with wide mortar courses—a policy that raises very subtle questions of historical-aesthetical ethics!)

Even if, as is most unlikely, the three blocks had been put in place during the 19th century "improvements", it would not explain the existence of such a gap in the masonry of such a width and at this particular point. There is no sign of a gap in any of the other arches of the sub-vault, nor have I been able to find anything resembling this piece of construction anywhere else in the many Romanesque arches of the Cathedral and monastic buildings. The gap is, however, exactly what we would expect to find created by the removal of a long slab of hard-wearing stone forming the threshold of the Court Hall. Such a stone sill would have been needed to complete the staircase in its new position and would not have been needed in its old position. The gap it left would most easily have been filled by three vertically inserted blocks of softer stone such as those we now see.

Examining the staircase itself we find that the supporting walls of flint and rubble are markedly out of character with the rest of the staircase and with the arches of the sub-vault, all of which is of coursed ashlar of high quality. The style of the flint work is, moreover, of an irregular character typical of the late 12th and subsequent centuries and quite unlike that typical in Kent in the early 12th century, in which the flints are much more carefully selected and are found laid in regular herringbone courses.

With regard to the hypothesis that the Hall was at some time greatly extended, it is of considerable relevance that although the 50 feet of the sub-vault (that the drawing portrays as the complete undercroft of the original Aula Nova) is still standing and strongly supporting the full weight of the King's School library, the remaining

100 feet of the Hall had fallen into complete ruin before 1730; a circumstance that indicates that this section was less soundly constructed than was the part that remains, and was therefore not built at the same time.

There remains one conclusive piece of evidence. The removal of the staircase would have necessitated, upon completion of the main operation, a certain amount of work on the western opening at the top of the steps, and evidence of such work is to be seen exactly where we would expect to find it (Fig. 5). On either side of the upper opening, facing west and purporting to support the voussoirs of the door-way arch, stand detached shafts, which appear to be, beneath the grime of Purbeck "marble". This fact is of little importance because it is recorded that the shafts of all the small columns on either side of the staircase were replaced with smooth or polished shafts under Prior d'Estry's administration (1284-1331), and all these now appear to be of Purbeck. More importantly, however, these two shafts are surmounted by capitals that are also of Purbeck; a material not used for capitals until after 1174, and, most conclusively, these capitals are clearly seen, in spite of weathering, to be in the stiff-leaved style first used and introduced into England in 1174 by William of Sens. They stand in marked contrast to the powerfully Romanesque capitals of the small arcades that lead up on either side of the steps. This change of style rules out the possibility that the staircase could have been under construction in 1165, but it is exactly what we would expect to find as a result of the resiting of the staircase c. 1180.

The most simple and obvious means of carrying out this removal would have been to set up the flint and rubble walls as inexpensively as possible (the Priory was under immense economic pressure after the fire of 1174, and in 1184 was forced to interrupt the building of its new choir for a year for lack of funds) and then to take down the upper parts of the staircase and quickly reconstruct them upon the flint walls. In this way there would have been no need to interrupt the usage of the Hall. The appearance of the staircase after such an operation would be just what we now find it to be (Figs. 2 and 3).

The evidence therefore points to the removal of the staircase from the south end of the Aula Nova to its present site simultaneously with the extension of the Hall from 50 feet to about 150 feet; both operations being made necessary by the fast growing flood of pilgrims in need of lodging, and both marking a change in usage of the Hall from its occasional function as a Court Hall to its everyday use as a "Stranger's Hall", with continued occasional use for holding court; a change that took place around 1180.

In order, however, to make the extension it would have been necessary to move the wall of the Priory at this point about 100 feet nearer to the City wall; an operation that would have necessitated a purchase of land from the City.



## THE NORTH WALL OF THE PRIORY ADJACENT TO THE AULA NOVA

The consideration of the history of the Aula Nova shown in the Norman drawing raises the question of the position of the North wall of the Priory in 1160, against which the Aula Nova appears to have abutted.

Willis supposed, without any archaeological evidence, that c. 1160 this Priory wall was only about 35 feet from the City Wall, for a distance of 400 feet. If, however, the Aula Nova was only 50 feet in length in 1160 and at the same time abutted the Priory Wall, then this wall would need to be much further from the City wall than Willis supposed, *i.e.*, about 130 feet. Conversely, if the Priory wall was 130 feet from the City wall c. 1160 then the Aula Nova could not have been more than 50 feet in length at that time.

Under the Norman kings, a wide space, the Pomerium\*, was left all round the City between the buildings within and the City wall surrounding the City.<sup>14</sup> This was intended to allow defence forces to move quickly around the inside of the wall and to assemble in depth against the point of attack. It was also sufficiently wide to prevent platforms being laid by attacking forces across from the City wall to the buildings. The space outside the wall was 150 feet wide.<sup>15</sup>

Only a few years before the Norman drawing was made England had been torn by the bitter civil war (the "Anarchy") between Stephen and Matilda, 1134-1154, a war that lasted for twenty years of massacre, torture, rape and destruction, and ended perhaps only six years previously. It seems unlikely that within such a short time the City wall of the Royal and Ancient City of Canterbury, and its Cathedral Church, would have been made so weak at this point as to invite attack across a 35 foot gap, making the Priory and its buildings and its Church the obvious battleground and an easy one for any hostile army, so soon after a war in which Canterbury had been an important Angevin stronghold, and which had been marked by successful attacks on such cities as Winchester, Oxford, Lincoln and Cambridge.<sup>16</sup> (It is not without interest that until 1162 remission of Danegeld "on account of waste" was still figuring in the accounts of the Exchequer.)<sup>17</sup>

If we suppose the Norman drawing to be substantially accurate we must accept a short Aula Nova abutting a Priory wall 130 feet from the City wall on the north boundary. *This distance of 130 feet is similar to that between the Priory wall and the City wall at the East boundary* (as shown by archaeological evidence extant during Willis' life-time and given in his drawing).

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\* Every well contrived City should have a Pomerium. "A certain space about the walls of a City, as well within as without, whereon it is not lawful to build Houses to Inhabit or Plough, lest thereby the Defence of the City should be hindered." Law Lexicon, Somner, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

"A Pomerium is a place, both within and without the City Wall on which it is not lawful to erect any building." Felinus the Canonist. (Somner, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

The line of the buildings—granary, bakehouse—recorded by Willis and depicted in the 12th century drawing, suggests an original building line and Priory limit about 130 feet from the City wall (Fig. 6).

Willis states,<sup>18</sup> without giving his reference, that the *public lane* between the Aula Nova and the City wall was acquired by the monks in the reign of Henry II but after the date of the drawing (*i.e.*, between 1165 and 1189). He goes on to say that in 1305, at least 120 years later than the purchase of the lane by the monks, the citizens complained that they were being prevented or inconvenienced by the monks in the use of this lane which finally was given to the monks by Henry IV (1399-1413) another 100 years later still. Willis is in fact here quoting Somner. The latter, however, is clearly aware of a certain conflict of evidence and betrays some doubt as to how it may be interpreted<sup>19</sup>:

“Now for the Ground between *Northgate* and *Queningate*. This parcel came first to the Church in *Henry II* time, and of his Gift. For by his Charter extant in the Leigers of the Church, he gives to the Church, (c) *for the increase of the Almonry*, (as the words of it are) *the piece of ground between the Wall of the City, and the Wall that enclofeth the Court of the Prior and Convent, which lyes between Northgate and Queningate; which piece of ground contains at the East end of it xli. foot in breadth, and at the West end xxiv. foot in breadth, and in the middle of it xvii. foot and in length lxxi. perches.* In the Year 1305 the Monks are presented, and charged by the Citizens to have stopped or made up the way between *Queningate* and *Northgate*; a thing confessed on the Monks part, but defending themselves by this Charter, they are acquitted (d). However for more surety (as I guess) *Henry IV.* afterwards by his Charter, grants them (e) *the way within the City-wall, which did formerly lead from Northgate unto Queningate; as the Church-Records inform me. And so much also for that parcel of the now Precinct.*”

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(a) *Omnes illes terras quas Monachi S. Trinitatis eis dederunt pro excambio terræ quam ab eis receperunt ad amplificandum cimiterium suum, &c.*  
 (b) *Infra limites Cemiterii Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. & de manso Ecclesiæ, &c. Lib. Ecclef. memoratæ.* (c) *In augmentum elemosinarie sue placeam illam inter murum Civitatis & murum qui claudit curiam Prioris & menachorum, quæ jacet inter Northgate & Queningate, Quæ quidem placea continet in fine suo versus Orient, xli pedes in latitudine, & versus Occiden. xxiv pedes similiter in latitud. In medio sui xvii pedes, & in longitudine lxxi perticas.* (d) *Lib. Ecclef. Cant.* (e) *Viam infra murum Civitatis Cantuar, quæ ducens solebat de Northgate usque Queningate.*

It is clear that whatever the date of the gift of land made by Henry II to the Church, it still remained possible for the citizens of Canterbury to pass along the passage between the Priory wall and the City wall until 1405, when this right was withdrawn by Henry IV. It seems certain that although the Church may have been given the right to make use of this lane “for the increase of the Almonry”, the citizens still considered themselves to have the right to use it as a public right of way.

The simple interpretation of the evidence—archaeological, documentary and circumstantial—is that the twelfth century drawing is substantially correct; the Priory wall on the north being c. 1165 about 130 feet from the City wall and the Aula Nova thus being only 50 feet in length (Fig. 10). Subsequently upon the death of Becket and the rapid growth of the pilgrimage traffic, the Aula Nova was lengthened to about 145 feet; the Priory wall being moved out to a line about 35 feet from the City wall, and the remaining gap becoming the public lane known thereafter as Queningate Lane (Fig. 8). This occurred c. 1180. A few years later Henry II gave the monastery rights to use Queningate Lane. One hundred and twenty-five years later, in 1305, the citizens complained that they were being inconvenienced by the monks in the use of Queningate Lane, and finally, in 1405, the monks obtained full possession of the lane which today is occupied by gardens and buildings of the King's School.

Dr. Urry in his recently published *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, provides incontrovertible evidence of the line of the Priory wall c. 1166, which is shown on his Map 1 (b), Sheet 4<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 7). From his study of the Charters and Rentals of the period Dr. Urry shows how the Priory bought out the occupants of dwellings built, largely by refugees from the civil war, within the wide passage between the Priory wall and the City wall and in fact against the Priory wall. The Priory then, as Dr. Urry shows, built a new wall much nearer to the City wall, leaving only a narrow track running along the inner face of the City wall.<sup>21</sup> In a footnote, Dr. Urry mentions one holding in particular that was not bought out. This stood behind the bakery and its rent was classed as paid for ground within "the new wall".<sup>22</sup> The date of this item is given as about 1180. The Aula Nova must therefore have remained in the form and of the dimensions recorded in the 1165 drawing (Fig. 10) until this acquisition of land and the building of the new wall (c. 1180) allowed the Hall to be extended; and there can be no doubt that this operation, which must have demanded a considerable financial outlay, was entered into in order to provide accommodation for the flood of pilgrim visitors to Becket's tomb (Figs. 8 and 11).

#### NOTES

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5. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
6. GOSTLING, W. *op. cit.*, p. 201.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
8. SUMMERLY, W. *Handbook of Canterbury* (1843), p. 107.
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10. WILLIS, R. *The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury*. Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. VII, 1868. Plan 3.
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15. SOMNER, W. *op. cit.*, p. 17.
16. DAVIS, W. *England under the Normans and Angevins*. Methuen, 1949, 3rd Edition, p. 158.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
18. WILLIS, R. *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
20. URRY, W. *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*. Athlone Press, 1967.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 245.



# DOCUMENTARY SURVIVAL

## YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

by Anne M. Oakley

The past and the present are important only in the way they affect the future. Out of our past and present we fashion our future, and this bears on our Archives just as much as it does on our daily lives.

What we do with our documents today influences to a great extent our lives tomorrow. If we allow documents to rot, be burned, or eaten by mice, we lose our written precedent; something which has been dear to man since he could write. Without such precedent he must survive on memory, and memory is fickle, faulty, and elusive. It can deceive. If we preserve our Archives we have for our own use and the use of the future a body of information which the administration within which we work, for instance, or on a smaller scale a family, may need, and to which it may turn in its need.

Such a body of information should be carefully kept and processed for easy reference and use. Carelessly stored, muddled piles are useless. This is a specialised calling, but since the very earliest times there have been Archivists. The Chinese Imperial Magistracy boasted an enormous and complex system of Archive conservation, and used a highly organised and centralised system based on the provinces and linked to the centre. When magistrates required documents, they despatched messengers to require the Archivist to produce them. In the eighteenth century, the office of Archivist to the Holy Roman Emperor was one of great dignity. William Somner, one of the Diocesan Registrars at Canterbury during the seventeenth century acted as an Archivist, though not in name, since he regarded all the documents in his care as his especial and personal concern, and in his will bequeathed them, as a whole, to his successor.

Monasteries too had their Archivists, one of the number of monks specially deputed to look after the growing volume of accounts, registers, title deeds and legal papers, to catalogue and list them, and to make them available to those who wished to use them. There is no doubt that this was the case. There are several early lists and inventories of documents among the Archives of Rochester Priory, and similarly elsewhere. Many documents survive for Rochester which show on the dorse of each a number in a fourteenth century hand which probably corresponded with a list. This system replaced an earlier one whereby the documents were catalogued, again by marking each one on the dorse, according to the monastic official to which it pertained. The Precentor looked after the books at Canterbury and doubtless had monks working under him.

From the Conquest onwards, monasteries developed into vast treasure houses of documentary evidence of all sorts. Their own

administrations produced long series of accounts, cartularies and registers of deeds and other important documents, and title deeds for buying and selling property. Monks were very conservative people: they continued doing the same things with great regularity year after year unless jolted out of their system by an ambitious or farsighted prior: they compiled chronicles of the happenings of their own times and their own houses, and they collected evidence for specific problems.

Over and over again the monks at Rochester registered the documents, ceremony and oath of electing and installing their prior. Twelve monks at Canterbury were each separately responsible for accounting to the prior for his own office of cellarer, sacrist, anniversarian or whatever it might be, sometimes for several thousand pounds. The series of resulting accounts is magnificent, but abruptly in 1389 they came to an end. In that year Prior Chillenden, an able and competent financier, interested in building, took all the finances into his own hand so that instead of a decentralised there was a centralised system, and the officials actually accounted for very small sums. A great deal of national and local history is derived from chronicles written by monks like Gervase at Canterbury and William at Malmesbury. They looked back, just as we look back, into earlier documents available to them or similar compilations; visitors to religious houses were no doubt eagerly questioned as to what was happening elsewhere. Much of what these monks wrote is accepted, much can be proved fable; but often fable caused by lack of knowledge or misunderstanding. They copied series and collections of documents to provide evidence of what was done in a particular circumstance or on a particular occasion, or to provide a body of proof for or against a particular person or persons. The monks at Canterbury carefully kept every single profession of obedience made to their Archbishop so that in the event of a dispute or refusal they could produce irrefutable evidence that profession of obedience should be made. They made copies too, in case the originals were lost. The monks at Rochester compiled a vast register, the *Registrum Temporalium*, at the instance of their Bishop, Lawrence of St. Martin, in the few years before 1256 to prove conclusively that their house was a separate foundation from that of Canterbury and in no way dependent upon it. The register was the sequel to a long quarrel with Canterbury and was taken as evidence to Rome by Bishop Lawrence to plead his cause of independence before the Pope. As inheritors of these documents we use them for our own ends, but it is important to remember that the compilers drew them up, not for our benefit but for their own.

Accident has played a great part in the loss and survival of documents. Fire and flood, laziness and forgetfulness, war and deliberate destruction have caused innumerable losses. When the Court was mobile, documents of every sort were carried round with it in carts. King John probably lost vast quantities of documents

in the Wash as well as his plate. King Charles I lost all his personal papers at the battle of Naseby when his baggage was captured by the Cromwellian forces. Generals in India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had special document field desks made for them so that they could run their administration while conducting their battle operations. If the battle was lost, so were the documents. Thousands of documents were destroyed during the French Revolution in a concerted attempt to obliterate the past. Modern revolutionaries similarly destroy the papers of administrations they eliminate. Of the 400 presses of documents once at Fountains Abbey, only some few hundred remained after the great upheaval of the Dissolution; some are in museums, some in private hands. Oliver Cromwell tried unsuccessfully to create a completely different world in England in the seventeenth century by changing and simplifying the methods of record keeping, but tradition was too strong and the Restoration restored not only the monarchy but also a medieval system of records and record keeping.

It was a gentleman's occupation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in particular, to collect documents. Perhaps the most celebrated collector was Sir Robert Cotton, whose great Library was unfortunately damaged by fire; but there were many others. Archbishop Parker was an enthusiastic collector of documents for their own sake. He feared that they would disappear through sheer neglect if not lodged in places of enduring safety. Hence he gave many documents from Canterbury to the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. Dr. Grant, a London physician of the late eighteenth century, borrowed Bills of Mortality for the plague years and never returned them.

Leaving Canterbury aside, and speaking in general terms, there is no doubt that a great deal of Archive material has been lost over the centuries. It is even more certain that some quantities of further evidence will have to be destroyed since there is at present no other alternative to accumulating vast mountains of paper. The continually increasing population, the complexity of modern life, and the interference of the state to a greater and greater extent in our lives all lead to the necessity of making more and more copies of relevant documents and create a storage problem which is practically insoluble without some organised destruction. If this is done with care, little will be lost. Administrative needs are paramount, and these do not necessarily take cognisance of the needs of the historian.

# ON RENEWING A TRADITION

by Allan Wicks

The deep sense of unease which seems in some degree to permeate all the branches of organised religion can be ascribed to pressure from three sources.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the pressure came from scientists; a group who now tend to support the Christian ethic. At the beginning of the twentieth century the pressure, this time more insidious, came from the historians and psychologists; and now the pressure, more subtle than ever, comes from the sociologists.

The challenge of physical science to theology is fairly mild. It is some literal interpretations of the Bible which come under fire; for instance, the creation of the world in literally seven days, or man's actual descent from the one man, Adam.

The challenge of human science has been more profound. Historical research has tended to show as human products all the most sacred traditions on which Christianity has relied to proclaim its uniqueness. Psychology followed this up by suggesting that religion was merely a huge projection of the needs and desires of mankind, a suggestion which was the more unpalatable because of the sordid nature of many of those needs and desires. The challenge of sociology goes a step further, since sociology purports to show that the projection is easily explained in terms of everyday experience. So it will be seen that the challenges are beguiling and that the Christian theologian, finding himself in a minority, feels isolated. To combat this feeling of isolation theologians have increasingly attempted to come to terms with their opponents. They have done this by compromising their own position; God is dead; God is not up there, but out there; angels are myths; and so on. This attitude is very understandable if we think in terms of our own position where the majority of our neighbours and friends despise and denigrate ideas which we hold. And when they belittle the whole basis of our job then the desire to ingratiate ourselves becomes almost overwhelming.

The modern world has set up an apparatus of "counselling" in the secular society which is so well publicised that the public has come to ask for reasons for the moral rules of society. They get answers to these questions in no uncertain terms but with very dubious reasons behind the expressed certainty.

For instance, psychologists tend to explain away the ideas propounded by the writers of the Gospel as being afflicted by thoughts relevant to their time; but the same psychologist will assume that his own thought, equally afflicted by thoughts relevant to *his* time, is accurate and reasonable. This is extremely one-sided. Surely, what was good for the writers of the Gospel is good for us. The view of life of the New Testament writers was upheld by the same kind of social attitudes that uphold our own view; and while,



by some remarkable mental twist, it may be possible to imagine that twentieth century sages may be one up on the writers of the Gospel, it is certainly not possible to imagine that ordinary twentieth century man has anything up on Saint Paul.

In my view, all this has important repercussions on the so-called death of the supernatural in modern society. I am well aware that I have skated very swiftly and sketchily over a lot of ground, and certainly there is in the world a type of mind that cannot conceive of the supernatural, but this is merely historical diagnosis. It is not absolute fact. We can agree that most people at present are not able to imagine the existence of cherubs or devils, but there is still more than a chance that cherubs and devils go on existing despite our inability to imagine them. In spite of the pessimism of many thinkers I prefer to agree with Albert Camus in his novel, *The Plague*, that in a time of pestilence there are more things to admire in men than to despise.

I should like to take certain aspects of man's earthly state and from them deduce signs of the supernatural, because I feel that in the region of our so-called "natural" life there are signs of a greater and truer natural life which is beyond earthly bounds.

As a first example I take the human attributes of hope and courage. They both exist in defiance of the most impossible conditions. They often go well beyond the bounds of rational thought and even of sanity. The courage of condemned men; of soldiers in a situation of certain annihilation; of ordinary men and women faced with ghastly and abnormal situations. These aspects of hope and courage are not bravado, they are the very nature of man. The eternal negative which man gives to the fact of death is a factor in our "natural" life which points to there being a truer and more natural life. We cannot, absolutely cannot, conceive of our own death and we often find it almost impossible to accept the fact of death in others.

The attribute of laughter also points to the supernatural. Laughter is the one weapon which destroys tyrants. Solzenytsin's great novel, *The First Circle*, is written as a gigantic belly laugh against the red-nosed buffoon, Stalin, and its echoes will ring down the ages as that tyrant's chief memorial. The tyrant triumphs only empirically; the humour goes beyond the "natural world". Power is the final illusion, humour reveals the final truth.

The joyful games of children and their adult equivalent lead towards the idea of the supernatural, too. Such joy does not depend upon a physical situation, still less upon material riches. It springs from the nature of man. It may be afternoon; it is also the thought in a poem, the climax of a love affair, the nodal modulation in a Mozart Symphony, the realisation of a scientific experiment. Children can exist for long periods in such a state of joy; adults can experience it only rarely, but with such intensity that the experience is remembered and cherished.

Conversely, the idea of hell which, despite our modern theologians, obstinately remains strongly in man's consciousness, points to the

supernatural. Certain deeds call forth such a cry for retribution that only the fact of hell can adequately assuage; the murder of children, the wholesale slaughter of defenceless millions, the cynical exploitation of innocence. Hell is the only conceivable punishment. The punishments, pitiful as they are, of our "natural" world are too trivial. Deeds which cry to heaven cry also to hell.

The imperative demand that man feels for an ordered universe is yet another sign of the supernatural. That deep-seated desire for order which is manifested in the childish cry in the night, or in the pathetic attempts to create a semblance of home in the midst of chaos such as we see among the refugees from East Pakistan.

Any theological method which is to maintain itself must take these signs into account. By doing so, it may break the tyranny of triviality which reigns, and recover the lost riches of thought and experience; the true ecstasy of man.

If the tradition is renewable, how does the musician help to renew it? He is, after all, dealing in a supernatural element, for music goes on where words stop. Music can also heighten the impact of words and even deepen their most elusive meanings. We are not dealing with instant communication, that modern shibboleth of the liturgiologist, but with something much more lasting. The other role that music plays, decisively in Anglo-Saxon communities, is that of making real the aspirations of a multitude. The English do not easily shed their inhibitions. It would be uncharacteristic as well as foolish to expect them to do so; but with the cloak of music many can find an outlet for their fervent feelings and, if, as I believe, private prayer is preceded by public worship, it is important that congregations are helped to make the most of worship. There is, I believe, only one way to make public worship a living reality for everybody. It is technique.

Technique costs effort to acquire and so creates the tension which is part of any successful enterprise. Technique costs money in order to clothe itself in the necessary equipment and so create respect. Technique gives the technician self-respect and so creates an aura of professionalism very important to the activity of public worship. Technique is the only "gimmick" which will "attract the young". So to a code of practice for churchgoers. Let them provide their own prayer books and hymn books (with tunes) and bibles out of their own pocket; let the very stuff of worship be their weekly lesson, repeated and repeated and repeated; let them learn to be silent and to listen and to think; let them learn to participate actively when required; let them be taught without descending to puerile and sterile English—and here I am not taking a swipe at the Church of England's experimental liturgy, nor am I advocating a diet on the one hand of hearty community singing or, on the other, of classical music performed by skilled choirs to mute spectators. What I advocate is that we should all—clergy, choirs, musicians and congregations alike, seek realisation of all the richness of the Book of Common Prayer. For this is where it all starts, both for this life and in preparation for the truly natural life of the hereafter.



Fig. 13. Glass in St. Gabriel's Chapel, Canterbury. Photo: Entwistle.



Fig. 14. King Ahaz and a servant, Isaiah Window (J), Sainte Chapelle, Paris.

Photo: Monuments Historiques.



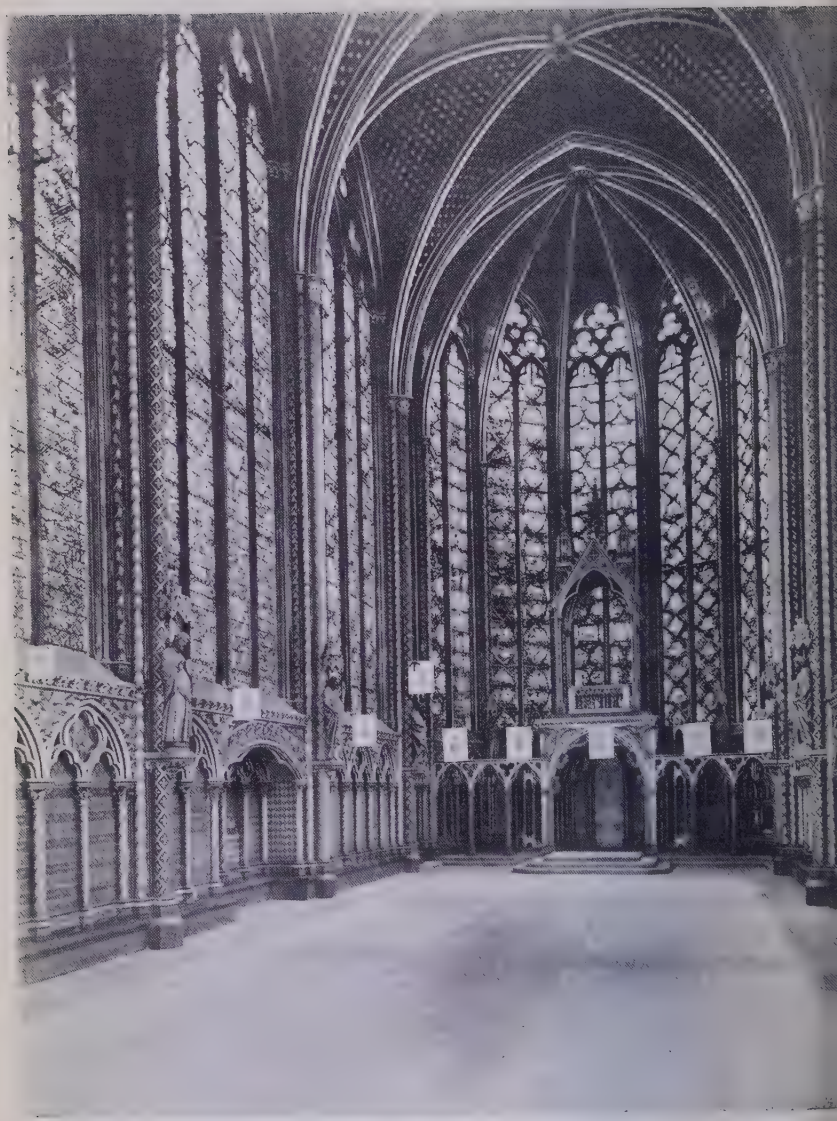


Fig. 15. *Sainte Chapelle, interior view to the North-East. Photo: Monuments Historiques.*



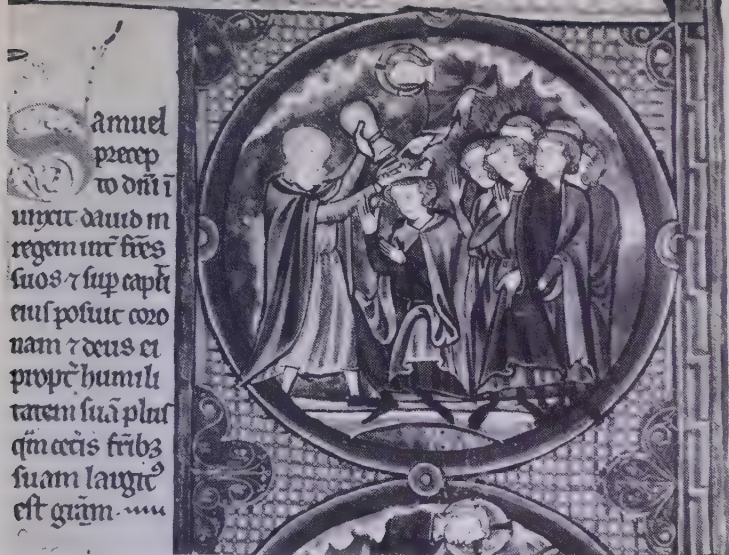


Fig. 16. Anointing of David, BIBLE MORALISÉE, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. 270b, fol. 135v. Photo: Bodleian Library.



Fig. 17. Anointing of Isaiah, BIBLE MORALISÉE, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 11560, fol. 127v. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.

□ = non-original glass, reused.

▨ = new glass.

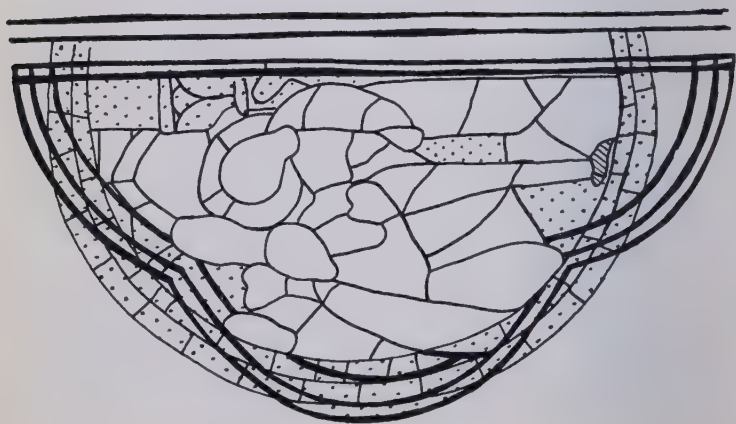


Fig. 18a. Reconstruction of the Canterbury ANOINTING as that of Isaiah. Window J, Sainte Chapelle.

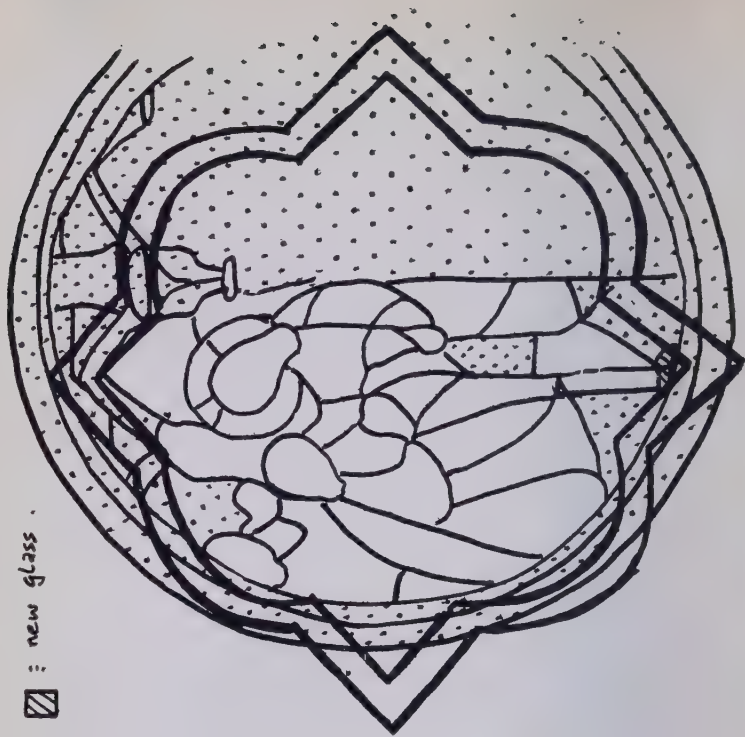


Fig. 18b. Reconstruction of the Canterbury ANOINTING as that of David. Window B, Sainte Chapelle.

# FRENCH THIRTEENTH CENTURY STAINED GLASS AT CANTERBURY

## A FRAGMENT FROM THE SAINTE CHAPELLE OF PARIS IN ST. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL (Fig. 13)

by Madeline H. Caviness

In 1956 the easternmost window in St Gabriel's Chapel, on the south side of the crypt, was filled with stained glass as a gift of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral<sup>1</sup>. In the centre of the window is a medallion showing four standing figures, three of them participating in an anointing, and an angel. The ground colour is blue, and behind the figures is part of a Gothic architrave. The scene is framed by a red edging, partly old, and a modern white border<sup>2</sup>. Surrounding the medallion, and filling the rest of the window, is grisaille ornament of later date made according to a design by Mr George Easton; this replaced a random arrangement of late thirteenth century grisaille fragments, as seen in Fig. 13. The panel, in the condition in which it is seen in the illustration, was purchased from Mr. Grosvenor Thomas. There seems to be some uncertainty whether it came from the estate of the American newspaper magnate, W. Randolph Hearst, or whether it had been in a collection in Norfolk<sup>3</sup>.

The scene represented in the roundel puzzled the late Bernard Rackham; although on the left a kneeling figure is being anointed, it is hard to explain the presence of a bearded and capped figure who approaches from the right, holding a scroll on which is written PANES<sup>4</sup>. However, it is apparent that the panel is executed in two distinct styles, separated in time by twenty to thirty years. Rather than this being a case of a medieval restoration, I believe the scene was made up of disparate elements, probably at some time in the nineteenth century. I will therefore deal with the two halves of the composition separately.

Slightly more than half of the roundel, on the left side, is given to a coherent scene of anointing. A full-length figure of a young man, with red nimb, long green robe and pink mantle which he clasps together in the front with his left hand, is holding a flask upside-down over the head of a youthful kneeling figure to the left. This person, dressed in the same colours counterchanged, holds his hands as if in prayer. Behind him and to the left is a third young man, of whom only the head and shoulders and one raised arm are visible; he wears a red tunic. Above the figures is an architrave, with red arches, blue masonry, yellow roof-tiles, and multi-coloured capitals. The colours in the draperies are very bright and fairly uniform; the greens are hard and slightly acid, the pinks are pale but tend to purple, the reds are brilliant and streaky. The flesh tones are very light, near white.

The style and colours of the left-hand group suggest an attribution to the Principal Atelier of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, a building which was glazed between 1243 and 1248<sup>5</sup>. The essential features



of this style have been described by Professor Louis Grodecki<sup>6</sup>, but I will outline them again here. The figures are large in comparison with the picture area and tend to fill out the frames; they are calm, their gestures slow and deliberate. Drapery folds are rather straight and vertical, with some use of the hairpin fold, and do not express the volume or movement of the figures. The execution appears rapid and essentially linear, but there are occasional broad light washes of modelling. Within this atelier several different hands have been recognised working in slightly different styles. One of the most distinctive is the "Master of Isaiah", named for his work in a window on the north side of the rond-point of the Sainte Chapelle (J, Fig. 15), and it is his work (Fig. 14) which provides the closest comparisons with the Canterbury panel. The faces, though rather chinless, have a heavy jaw, the eyes are very wide open, and there is a heavier application of modelling washes in both faces and draperies<sup>7</sup>. This painter worked in three other windows on the north side of Sainte Chapelle (M, N, L, Fig. 15); each has a different scheme of iron-work, but none has demi-roundels. In view of the truncation of the figure on the extreme left of the Canterbury panel, and some replacements in the upper and lower parts, one may suppose that the panel was originally some other shape. Since it would be hard to conjecture *a priori* what this may have been, it will be more satisfactory to turn to the subject matter to see whether the scene can be fitted into any of the historiated series of the Sainte Chapelle windows.

The Sainte Chapelle windows were given largely to Old Testament history; eleven and a half of the fifteen bays, or more accurately thirty-seven of the total of forty-six lancets, form a series with subjects from Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Ruth, Judges, Isaiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Tobit, Judith, Job, Esther, Samuel, and Kings<sup>8</sup>. One might suppose there would be ample opportunity to represent the anointing of a king, and the subject is a probable choice for the decoration of such a splendid royal chapel; there are several scenes of coronation in these windows<sup>9</sup>. The possibility cannot, however, be ruled out that the rarer subject of the anointing of Isaiah was represented.

Comparison with a scene in a manuscript confirms that the subject of the Canterbury fragment is an anointing; a single leaf from a Psalter, in all probability executed in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century, is in the collection of Colorado College<sup>10</sup>. In the initial D to Psalm 26 (27) Samuel is shown anointing David; very much in the manner of the main figure in the Sainte Chapelle fragment, he pours oil from a large flask; behind David, to the left, stands another figure, with a Jewish cap, holding a chrismatory. His left hand is raised, palm open, just as that of the attendant at Canterbury.

Samuel anointing David is by far the commonest scene of anointing in medieval art; it is represented frequently in Psalters<sup>11</sup>. It also finds a place in those Biblical picture books known as the *Bibles Moralisées* which were in all probability produced in Paris around the middle of the thirteenth century<sup>12</sup>. The extant recensions



of the *Bible Moralisée* in fact contain two scenes which deserve consideration as aids to identifying the figures represented in the Canterbury fragment; one, in the Bodleian Library, shows Samuel and David (Fig. 16)<sup>13</sup>, the other, in Paris, shows the Lord anointing Isaiah (Fig. 17)<sup>14</sup>. Neither is identical to the Canterbury fragment, principally in that both David and Isaiah in the manuscripts are seated. The presence of onlookers (described in the text as David's brothers), and especially of one with his hand raised, provide an affinity between the anointing of David and the Canterbury scene. The suggestion of a cross-nimb in the leading above the head of the anointer is the only indication that this may be the Lord anointing Isaiah<sup>15</sup>.

Returning now to the problem of the original format of the panel and its location in Sainte Chapelle, I find that the evidence is again inconclusive. Window J in the Sainte Chapelle illustrates the Book of Isaiah as fully as any extant medieval cycle, and Window B contains subjects from Samuel I and II, and Kings I (Regum I-III of the Vulgate). Both provide a format which might be a plausible reconstruction (Fig. 18 a & b). However, Window B there might be considered the less satisfactory; the lower part of the anointer would be cut off by the frame, whereas the Sainte Chapelle figures are normally attenuated beyond the height of this figure in its present state (cf. Figs. 13 & 14). This extra height would be possible in Window J, where the left margin would also explain the verticality of the left side of the anointer; the composition would be comparable to that illustrated in Fig. 14. It has already been observed that the style of this window provides the closest comparisons with the Canterbury fragment; Window B is by another group of craftsmen who painted rather round heads, without the heavy jaw of the "Isaiah Master", and who made greater use of bold drapery hooks sweeping diagonally and horizontally across the figures<sup>16</sup>. The conclusion tentatively reached is that the scene most probably comes from Window J, and that it represents the rarely illustrated moment in which Isaiah said "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me". Quite possibly it is an adaptation from the design for a similar scene of anointing with David as the subject, which may have been painted by another artist for Window B; this would explain the coincidences with "Anointing of David" iconography<sup>17</sup>.

Since the Saint Chapelle fragment is a very fine piece, and essentially well preserved, more should be said of the style it represents and of the history of the Sainte Chapelle, before attempting an identification of the right half of the panel. The Sainte Chapelle was founded in or by 1243, its principal purpose being to house the Crown of Thorns and a relic of the True Cross which had recently been brought to Paris by St. Louis (King Louis IX of France)<sup>18</sup>. The building was an extremely important one in the history of Gothic building styles; though small, it was probably the most richly decorated church in France. It is said that when Henry III of England visited his brother-in-law in Paris he wished he could carry away the Sainte Chapelle, and its influence is reflected

in his foundation at Westminster<sup>19</sup>. Major innovations were the reduction of the walls to bare essentials in order to allow an enormous expanse of glass, and the complete unification of the interior space so that none of the decoration was masked. The Chapel has been likened to a large shrine, with the decoration turned on the inside<sup>20</sup>. Probably the dado, below the windows, was covered with embroidered hangings; above were painted and en-crusted quatrefoils, the subject of a recent study by Professor Branner<sup>21</sup>. Statues of the Apostles were placed round the Chapel on the piers. The vaults were painted blue with gold stars, and the floor was no doubt originally tiled. The windows were, however, the chief glory of the building.

The decoration of the Sainte Chapelle was created at a very important moment in the development of painting styles, as well as in architectural style; it marks the beginning of the High Gothic. The chief representative of this new style in the Chapel is the Principal Atelier. This group of artists executed by far the greatest number of windows<sup>22</sup>. The calm, elegant poses of the figures, the absence of distorting emotions in the faces and of any aggressively plastic effects in the modelling or actions, give the windows a harmonious quality and they preserve the plane of the wall by their two-dimensionality. This general style is found also in the slightly later "Psalter of St. Louis" and the "second" Evangeliary of the Sainte Chapelle<sup>23</sup>. In the Chapel, the new style makes its appearance, among others, in the Windows of Judith and Esther; in the painted medallions, and in another book which may have come from the royal workshops in Paris<sup>24</sup> the artists achieved greater plasticity in both draperies and stance, and they depicted violent actions and emotions. Both styles may be seen as developments from the earlier thirteenth century "müldenfaltensstil" (hairpin-looped fold style), which seems to stem from the North-East of France and the region of the Meuse, and is represented in a classicizing phase in the Ingebourg Psalter<sup>25</sup>. From this earlier style the three ateliers working on the Sainte Chapelle windows each selected different elements; one—the closest to the earlier style—increased the plasticity of the silhouette by emphasizing the rucks which turned around the figure, and settled the drapery in broader planes; a second used boldly drawn hooked folds rather as accents in figures which are otherwise extremely attenuated and mannered, with fine, exquisitely painted features; the third, which played a dominant role, de-emphasized the plastic effect of the hooked folds, tending instead to depict vertical, smooth folds, and insisting on a quiet outline which gave no suggestion of the other side of the figure. This last clearly represents a reversal of the classicizing trend of the early thirteenth century, and it leads logically to the predominant style of the second half of the century. This prophetic style is represented in a very fine example in the Canterbury scene of anointing.

One final question is how the Canterbury fragment came to leave the Sainte Chapelle. Several such stray pieces have now been identified, in England and in America<sup>26</sup>. During the French

Revolution the Chapel was adapted for use as a legal archive, and the lowest eight feet of glass in every lancet was removed so that shelving could be installed. Soon after 1803 much of this glass was on the Paris art market; it seems to have been restored by a dealer about that time<sup>27</sup>. By 1858, when serious attention was given to the restoration of the glass remaining in the Sainte Chapelle, these panels had long since been dispersed<sup>28</sup>. The Canterbury fragment could have come to England in the nineteenth century<sup>29</sup>.

\* \* \* \* \*

It may be conjectured that the roundel was made up in Paris early in the nineteenth century, since French glass also appears in the right half. This part, however, contains no coherent scene, and its exact provenance has eluded me<sup>30</sup>. The prophet appears essentially intact from the waist up. Seen in profile to the left, he is bearded and wears a red cap, tunic and mantle. Rather incongruously the sleeves of his robe are green and the skirt yellow; these pieces may be extraneous. His right hand is held out in a rather mannered gesture, in the left he holds the end of a scroll with inscription. The figure is bulky, the shoulder solidly modelled and the mantle heavy and enveloping, with very deliberate hooked folds. The angel behind the prophet, to the right, is not clearly connected with him, though the head may be of the same period. The drapery of this figure has the colours (pink and green) and the painterly qualities of the Sainte Chapelle glass, and may be re-cut fragments. The continuation of the Gothic architrave in the background may also be made up, since the capital above the angel has no supporting column. The window-motif above the main capital may be of fourteenth century date.

In this part of the medallion the prophet is of greatest interest. The figure may date from about 1270-80, by comparison with large figures in St Urbain of Troyes which demonstrate similar strong profiles<sup>31</sup>. Comparable drapery may also be seen in the seated Apostles from the Château of Rouen, now in the Cluny Museum in Paris<sup>32</sup>. From the small scale of the figure it is possible that he was part of a Tree of Jesse, one of the flanking figures who were frequently represented with scrolls and inscriptions of their names or prophecies; from its style and content the lettering here may have been repainted. In Austria there are examples of profile busts of prophets occurring independently, as in fourteenth century glass in Lorch and Pram; compositionally they are close to the Canterbury figure, but in style he is French<sup>33</sup>. One is tempted to think he too is from Paris, where no glass of the period has survived.

## NOTES

1. The glass was briefly described by BERNARD RACKHAM, *The Stained Glass Windows of Canterbury Cathedral*, Canterbury, 1957, p. 39, and by D. INGRAM HILL, *The Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, Canterbury, p. 23.
2. The maximum dimensions are 32-32½ in. in diameter; without the modern white edging line this would be 29-30 in. (76.5 cm).
3. RACKHAM, *loc. cit.*, said the glass was previously at Costessey Hall, Norfolk. It was part of a collection owned by Maurice Drake and Grosvenor Thomas, according to a note entitled "Proposed insertion of glass from St. Donat's", dated 1956, among Rackham's papers in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics. It was not included in the publication of the collection by MAURICE DRAKE, *The Costessey collection of stained glass, formerly in the possession of George William Jerningham, 8th Baron Stafford of Costessey in the County of Norfolk*, Exeter, 1920. Mr. Dennis King was kind enough to show me the Grosvenor Thomas sale books, in which the panel appears as a separate item, not in the Costessey collection. Its provenance therefore remains uncertain.
4. Letter to DR. WILLIAM URRY, 9th February, 1957, in the Canterbury Cathedral Library.
5. L. GRODECKI in M. AUBERT, L. GRODECKI, J. LAFOND, J. VERRIER, *Corpus vitrearum medii aevi: France, I: Les vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte Chapelle de Paris*, Paris, 1959, p. 72. (This work will be referred to as *Corpus* in later references.)
6. *Corpus*, p. 92.
7. *Corpus*, pp. 93, 174. The Canterbury panel has been very thoroughly cleaned on the outer side, which may have removed some of the modelling washes; the trace-lines, on the inner side of the glass, are better preserved.
8. *Corpus*, pp. 78-81.
9. *Corpus*, pp. 83-4.
10. See MARK LANSBURGH, "The Illuminated Manuscript Collection at Colorado College", *Art Journal* XXVIII (1968), p. 63, and HARVEY STAHL, "Le Bestiaire de Douai", *Revue de L'Art*, No. 8, 1970, pp. 12-13, 15-16, fig. 18, who attributes it to the North of France or Paris.
11. G. HASELOFF, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden*, Kiel, 1938, has demonstrated that the anointing of David was commonly found as an illustration to Psalm 26 in English Psalters from the mid-twelfth century on, and in French books from the early thirteenth century on (pp. 100-19). The subject occasionally appeared elsewhere in a psalter, as on the ivory book cover of the Melisenda Psalter, British Museum Egerton MS. 1139, of the first half of the twelfth century; see A. GOLDSCHMIDT and K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XII. Jahrhunderts*, II, Berlin, 1934, Pl. LXXIII, pp. 79-80. In the Ingebourg Psalter, Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 1695, f. 37v, the anointing of David is placed in the Beatus initial to Psalm I; see FLORENS DEUHLER, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, Pl. XXXII and p. 178, with bibliography. The scene was also included in the David cycle of the Bible of STEPHEN HARDING, Dijon MS. 14, fol. 13, a manuscript made at Cîteaux about 1100; see C. OURSEL, *La miniature du XIIe siècle à l'Abbaye de Cîteaux, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Dijon*, Dijon, 1926, Pls. IV, V. I Regum XVI 13 provides the textual source for these illustrations. (I Samuel XVI of the Revised Standard Version.)
12. Reproduced by A. de LaBorde, *La Bible Moralisée illustrée*, Paris, 1911-27. It has been noticed that, at least in some scenes, the Sainte Chapelle glass and the Bible pictures derive from similar models; see *Corpus*, p. 83.
13. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. 270b, fol. 135v, in illustration to I Regum XVI 13.



14. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 11560, fol. 127v, in illustration to Isaiah LXI 1. The Biblical verse is metaphorical, and perhaps for that reason seldom illustrated: "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek".
15. The leading itself is new; it may in part follow the original lines, but whether this is true of the pieces which seem to form part of a cross-nimb cannot be ascertained. The nimb is red throughout, whereas a cross-nimb would have had three insertions of white glass, as illustrated in colour, *Corpus*, Pl. II.
16. *Corpus*, p. 93, where this group are called the Atelier of Ezekiel.
17. Repetitions of design are common in the Sainte Chapelle; *Corpus*, p. 91.
18. ROBERT BRANNER, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, London, 1965, p. 64, has suggested the building was begun as early as 1241, when the relics arrived in Paris.
19. ROBERT BRANNER, "Westminster Abbey and the French Court Style", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXIII (1964), pp. 10-3.
20. BRANNER, *St. Louis and the Court Style . . .*, p. 57.
21. ROBERT BRANNER, "The painted medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, LVIII, part 2 (1968).
22. *Corpus*, p. 92, where the atelier is credited with four large bays on the north side, five smaller ones in the rondpoint, and parts of others.
23. The Psalter of St. Louis, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 10525, is dated between 1253 and 1270. The Evangeliary is MS. lat. 17326 in the same collection. The origins of this style have been discussed by ROBERT BRANNER, "Le premier évêgaltaire de la Sainte-Chapelle", *La Revue de l'Art*, I (1969), pp. 37-48.
24. New York, Morgan Library, MS. 638, reproduced in facsimile by SIR SYDNEY COCKERELL, *A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle of the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1927 (recently reprinted in colour, with preface by J. PLUMMER, New York, 1969).
25. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 1695; see Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967.
26. Some were recognised before the publication of the *Corpus*, and were described on pp. 343-49; others have been published subsequently; see L. GRODECKI and M. HARRISON CAVINESS, "Vitreaux de la Sainte-Chapelle", *La Revue de l'Art*, I (1969), pp. 8-16, and M. H. CAVINESS, "Three Medallions of stained glass from the Sainte Chapelle of Paris", *Bulletin of the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, LXII (1967), pp. 245-59.
27. *Corpus*, p. 73.
28. Panels now in Twycross, Leicestershire, were in England by about 1820 (*Corpus*, p. 73 n. 12). One in the Victoria and Albert Museum was bought in 1858, another in Wilton Church, Wiltshire, was in England about 1840 (GRODECKI and CAVINESS, *op. cit.* pp. 10-1). None of those so far traced was included in the tracings made at the time of the restoration and preserved in the Centre de Recherches sur les Monuments Français, Palais de Chaillot.
29. The Costessey Hall collection, of which it was said to have formed a part, was largely acquired by SIR WILLIAM JERNINGHAM (1736-1809); see JEAN LAFOND, "Le Commerce des vitreaux étrangers anciens en Angleterre au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles", *Revue des Sociétés Savantes de Haute-Normandie—Histoire de l'Art*, XX (1960), p. 13 n. 9.
30. I am grateful to my colleagues, DR. MEREDITH LILLICH and DR. RÜDIGER BECKSMANN for their opinions of this piece; both agreed it is French. Dr. Lillich has suggested Normandy or Burgundy as the place of origin.
31. As for instance Isaiah, illustrated in Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Le Vitrail Français*, Paris, 1958, Fig. 30.
32. Discussed and illustrated by JEAN LAFOND, "Le vitrail en Normandie de 1250 à 1300", *Bulletin Monumentale*, CXI (1953), pp. 337-39.
33. E. FRODL-KRAFT, "Mittelalterliche Glasmalerei: Erforschung, Restaurierung: Die Prophetensheiben von Lorch", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, XXIII (1969), Pl. 103.

# THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CANTERBURY AND THE KING'S SCHOOL

by Derek Ingram Hill

The dissolution of the religious houses of monks and nuns in the reign of Henry VIII was one of the most catastrophic events of the Tudor period. Foundations which had been nurseries of culture, liturgy, art and scholarship for a millennium and more vanished overnight, their inmates were pensioned off if complaisant or even executed if contumacious, their splendid buildings with all their ornaments were pillaged and then demolished in many cases and their libraries scattered or destroyed . . . the sorry tale of plunder, waste and cruelty even now sickens the heart of any intelligent reader, even though he may admit that many of these houses had outlived their real usefulness. Yet there are aspects of the dissolution for which one must be grateful, not least the preservation of many fine churches like those of Romsey and Tewkesbury, Beverley and Hexham, which survived because the local townspeople were willing to take them over as parochial churches. High on the list of preservations were the cathedral priory churches—unique foundations which had been not merely the churches of great monasteries but also the episcopal seats of bishops who had been in effect titular abbots of the convent which built and maintained the cathedral churches. Such were Durham and Ely, Worcester and Rochester and, of course, Canterbury—churches whose history stretched far back to Saxon times and were not only spared to continue as the seat of the bishops and the centre of diocesan life, but refounded with adequate revenues and staffs as collegiate churches with a dean, prebendaries (or residentiary canons), minor canons, and (not least) a school with a number of scholars, a headmaster and usher (or second master), on the Foundation, and maintained out of the capitular revenues. As a tribute to the magnanimity of the sovereign these refounded schools, which often traced their origins well back into monastic history, were henceforth to be known as King's Schools and under this name they have endured down to the present time. Of them all, the King's School at Canterbury may be thought to be not only the oldest in its connections with the remote past, but the largest in terms of its refoundation and the one that has held most tenaciously to its links with the great Mother Church right down to this present day.

For the King's School was the same as the Archbishop's School, renamed and remoulded, which had sprung into life early in the seventh century (that golden period described so well by Bede when Canterbury was a great seat of learning and men like Theodore of Tarsus and Abbot Hadrian of St. Augustine's drew scholars to the city from all over Europe). One of our present Six Preachers, Canon David Edwards of Westminster, has well described these early and rather mysterious centuries in his history of the school published

in 1957. Perhaps it was the knowledge of the good work done by the "Archbishop's Grammar School" at Canterbury, as Prior Selling called it in a letter to Cardinal Bouchier, that encouraged a later Primate, Thomas Cranmer, to ensure that it had a place on the new Foundation with fifty scholars who were to study Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in addition to grammar and logic. This King's School was destined to survive the religious changes of Tudor and Stuart England and the vicissitudes of succeeding centuries to rise to its greatest heights in the twentieth century.

But from the start it was closely woven into the fabric of the Cathedral Foundation and has remained so ever since. In Tudor times the ideal of a common life, which was fundamental to the Benedictine monastery, was maintained in the Foundation that replaced it, the members all meeting together according to a carefully defined hierarchical pattern. So the senior canons and six preachers dined in one hall, while the minor canons (headed by the Precentor and the Headmaster of the King's School) dined in another with the Usher and lay clerks at a lower table, and the scholars of the School and the Cathedral choristers at a third. The Dean and the Prebendaries were the Governors of the School from 1541 onwards and remained exclusively so down to 1927 when outside Governors were appointed to assist the cathedral clergy.

At first the whole school was directed to attend the daily High Mass, and on Sundays and feasts the offices of Matins and Vespers as well. In the lifetime of many O.K.S. the school still went as a body to Evensong on Saturday afternoons, and every Sunday morning to Cathedral Matins (on every red letter day also).

Down to the coming of Dr. Shirley to be Headmaster in 1935, the South East Transept was fitted up as a School Chapel and Evensong was sung there by the school every Sunday afternoon (when the Dean or one of the residentiary canons came to preach occasionally they were always preceded by a verger with a silver mace). With the great expansion of the school, attendance at Cathedral services became much less frequent and nowadays the school uses the whole Quire or Nave for its own service most Sundays in the academic year and for such occasions as the annual Confirmation by the Archbishop, the Advent Carol Service and the Commemoration Service in July. The Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft in the Western Crypt is used for School Eucharists, and often an evening service for the whole or part of the school is held in the Eastern Crypt. An interesting custom which has developed in recent years is for the Madrigal Society to salute Ascension Day by singing from the top of Bell Harry Tower in praise of the Ascended Christ whose name is borne by the great Church of which this tower is the crown.

So the old tradition that ensures that when the King's School worships God as a corporate body it does so in the Cathedral continues unabated as has been the custom since the time of Henry VIII. From the first the refounded school was housed in buildings once used by monks of the Priory, and though there have

been boarding houses in the city for a very long time, it would be impossible to imagine the main school life to be centred anywhere except in the Precincts and around the Green Court. In recent years the school has tended to overflow from the Mint Yard into other capitular properties adjacent; at first into those occupied by minor canons until the mid thirties of this century, and later on into houses devoted to the residence of senior canons and even archdeacons, like Meister Omers and Linacre Houses. With the notable exceptions of Mr. Latter and his successor, Mr. Norman Birley, all the Headmasters of the school have been priests (all graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge), and several have been Six Preachers or honorary canons (Dr. Shirley was a residentiary canon). Almost all the Lower Masters (known as ushers in former times) have been in orders, and not a few have been on the Cathedral Foundation as Six Preachers or Minor Canons while four of the seven Headmasters of the Junior School (since its foundation in 1879) have also been in orders.

Some years ago in the school magazine, *The Cantuarian*, I published an article containing the results of some research into that unique Canterbury Cathedral office—that of Six Preacher—showing that out of nearly two hundred preachers appointed since 1541 one in every ten had been an O.K.S. or a member of the school's teaching staff. One, at least, of the Deans of Canterbury, an O.K.S. named John Boys, is commemorated by a unique monument in the Cathedral dating from his death in 1627 which is supposed to have taken place in his study in the Deanery. The monument, which is of great size, stands against the south wall of the Lady Chapel off the Martyrdom. It depicts the reverend and scholarly Dr. Boys among his books and seated at a desk with an open book on a lectern on his table, just as he might have been at the moment of death. Happy Dean! What scholar would not like to die among his books in just this way. So far no Archbishop of Canterbury has been an O.K.S., though one Archbishop of York (Accepted Frewen, c. 1660), several Australian Archbishops, and numerous Diocesan Bishops in England and other countries ranging from the celebrated Peter Gunning (who has a lovely tomb in Ely Cathedral of which he was Bishop from 1675 to 1684) to Bishop William Grant Broughton, first Metropolitan of Australia who has a Gothic revival tomb of no great distinction in the Cathedral Nave, and more recently the well loved Bishop Maurice Gelsthorpe of the Sudan, have all been O.K.S.

At least twice in the last century the Dean and Chapter have shown their care for the school in a very solid and financial way . . . first in 1865 when several thousands of pounds were spent erecting the present buildings around the Mint Yard. These included the School House and the Grange and Galpin's House (the latter being the residence of the Headmaster until about thirty-five years ago).

David Edwards on page 60 of his little book on *F. J. Shirley: An Extraordinary Headmaster* reprints Dr. Shirley's own account



of the way the Chapter came to the rescue of the school at the beginning of his memorable term of office as Headmaster with a cash payment of £27,000 in lieu of the old annual grant of £1,000 per annum. Dr. Shirley concluded a list of the ways in which the capitular Body had helped the school at that time with the words "it freely puts the Cathedral to the School's use, an asset which cannot be financially measured" . . . words which will surely be heartily endorsed by any one who has experienced the peculiar pleasures of King's Week when Cathedral, Cloisters, Chapter House, and the gardens of the Water Tower, the Deanery, and other pleasant open spaces around the Precincts are annually the scene of plays, concerts, and other musical or dramatic delights organised by the King's School.

No doubt the average boy who passes through The King's School takes the Cathedral for granted; it is his school Chapel (and what other school has a chapel to compare with it?) and the background of his whole school life as he moves around the Green Court and the Precincts to classrooms, boarding houses, dining hall and so forth. And it is this acceptance of the Cathedral as a familiar and natural part of the life of the school that in many ways makes Canterbury Cathedral and King's unique. One may hazard a guess from one's own experience that O.K.S. who recall their school days later in life will certainly give high place in their visual recollections to the Cathedral, and almost certainly a similar place to it in their affections and reminiscences. They will surely echo with slight variation the words of the Psalmist, "Blessed are they that dwell in the shadow of Thy House."

# THE EVOLUTION OF A CITY

by M. St John Parker

The perennial fascination of Canterbury continues to inspire a steady flow of histories and surveys of various types. Two of the most worthwhile to come out in recent years are Marcus Crouch's *Canterbury* (Longman, £1.60), and a volume with the same title in the *City Buildings Series*, by Sherban Cantacuzino, Hamish Halls, Flavia Petrie and David Woodcock (Studio Vista, £2.25). The two books are quite different in subject matter, form and approach, but both are inspired by a sensitive affection for the city that gave them birth, and both have something to say about the present and future, as well as the past.

Marcus Crouch follows a well-beaten track in his account of Canterbury from earliest times to the present day. The opening stages, indeed, are so rutted that his coach lurches around in some confusion, to the dismay of the travel-weary passenger, who fears that he may have embarked on yet another random bouncing round the byways of pseudo-history, where imagination has to do duty for a properly-metalled surface of fact. After this rough start, however, things rapidly improve, and before long Mr Crouch is bowling smoothly and swiftly along, in a manner so eminently enjoyable that even the most jaded traveller is willing to sit up and look about him.

It is true that the route tends to follow the old A roads, rather than the new Motorways, so that it sometimes seems a little dated. The account of that dark transitional period between Romans and Saxons takes little account of recent discoveries—even those made around Canterbury, showing continuity maintained, after a fashion, through groups of German mercenaries. Indeed, we get the old story of Hengist and Horsa told—very agreeably—yet again, though admittedly with suitable cautions and disclaimers. Here and there, too, Mr Crouch indulges in little diversions of his own discovering off the main road; we are led to infer that Becket was in his earlier career a greater warrior than Henry II, that Thomas Cromwell was a vulgar con-man, and that his master, Henry VIII, was a failure (he had, we are told, a “disastrous life”). Such ideas are surely as fictional as the notion that Celia Fiennes, of the great family of the Lords Saye and Sele, should be described as being “of solid middle-class stock”.

Such eccentricities are entirely unrepresentative, though. For most of the time, Mr Crouch's narrative is unpretentiously sound; it is not without significance that the book should be dedicated to Dr William Urry. In any case, history as such is not precisely the author's objective, if by history we mean a precise and complete technical account. Instead, he describes the development of the city as a place where people live—in short, as a community. In this story, the shape of the country around, and the state of the ordinary citizen, are as important as great events and notable personalities. Set in such a context, even well-known stories like that of the false

Sir William Courtenay and the Battle of Bossenden Wood, or the dreadful bombings of 1942, take on a special meaning. Mr Crouch has a discerning eye for the distinctive Canterbury character, and he refuses to make the mistake committed by so many Canterbury chroniclers, of ignoring the important, though obscure developments of the quiet eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Having said that, it may perhaps be noted with some surprise that he chooses to minimise the role of the military in forming modern Canterbury. It may be that the city nowadays is anxious to forget this aspect of its past, if one should judge from the misguided demolition of Georgian barrack-buildings, and the injudicious development of old military sites. But for 150 years the army was one of the two most powerful—and profitable—interests in the locality, and their influence deserves to be recorded, to say the least.

The book was published in 1970, a year when Canterbury was particularly conscious of being poised between past and future, so it is perhaps not surprising that Mr Crouch should have been moved to end on the introspective note that was to be detected in so many of our festivities last year. He notes the deep-rooted delight of Canterbury people in pageantry and the grand event—a delight which has never prevented them from making such happenings the occasion of financial profit—and points up the unresolved controversy about the role of Canterbury in the future economy of East Kent. Planners have their place, but it is clear from Mr Crouch's enthusiastic account of civic initiative in the Canterbury Society, the Stour Society, the Archaeological Society and, above all, the Friends of the Cathedral, that he believes in a community which makes its own decisions.

This book is not high-brow, or high-powered, but it is sound and attractive, discerning and sympathetic, and deserves to be bought by people who love Canterbury.

With the Studio Vista *Canterbury* we are on different ground. The four authors are architects, and the object of their book, like others in the series, is to give a complete and accurate picture of the architecture to be found at the date of publication in the city. Compiled from a technical stand-point, and extending in scope right up to the buildings of today, their record is nonetheless intended for the general public, and is not overloaded with detail of any sort. Nor is it simply a gazetteer; the astringent but positive and persuasive Introduction by Robert Paine sets the tone in seeing the city as a whole and as a community, not as a mere collection of buildings, and throughout the text we find factual description enlivened and illuminated by sharp and relevant comment bearing on the life of the place. Here, for instance, à propos St Alphege's church: "The interior has the atmosphere of a village church, and this is typical of Canterbury—a city whose churches seem to have left the cultivation of urbanity to the cathedral, and whose parishes still maintain individual and distinct characters".

In form, the book is basically a collection of illustrated paragraphs, arranged in chronological order (though the order poses many

problems, since Canterbury is rich in buildings which have been rebuilt, reshaped or refaced many times over the centuries). The photographs are thus an important element in the mixture, and it is a pity that they are generally so small and dark. In fact the whole appearance of the book is disappointing at the price.

Enthusiasts for the older buildings of Canterbury will probably find themselves dissatisfied by the coverage given to their favourites; but it is an overall picture that is intended, not an antiquarian's holiday, and those who feel that they could do the earlier part better themselves (a deceptive feeling, in any case) should turn to the later pages and learn about the work of their grandfathers and fathers, and still more of their contemporaries. It is true that some of the later specimens seem to be included because they are representative rather than specially good in themselves, but this is entirely consonant with the declared aims of the book, and is a very salutary thing in view of our tendency to under-rate, abuse and maltreat the work of the last 100 years or so. Above all, this willingness to take an impartial look at modern as well as ancient Canterbury should remind us that a true city is an organism; it must breathe, and move, and renew itself—in fact, it must evolve. Sometimes the direction of evolution is forced by events; sometimes it is a matter of choice. This book is an acceptable monument to the choices of the past.

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## A BOOK FOR CANTERBURY CHILDREN

by Marjorie Lyle

In *That Fool of a Priest* (Pergamon, £1.25), Philip Rush has tried that most difficult of bridging operations between historical fact and art in a series of nine stories, linked loosely to the theme of Canterbury, the medieval pilgrim city. This form has a great advantage at the lower end of the age range, about ten years, since strong characterization and vivid description are sure to make any one of the stories jump out of the page at the prospective reader. For anyone up to fourteen, who enjoys imaginative reconstructions of the past, there is a lot to enjoy here—and from inside the scene. The feel of the plague year of 1348-9, the terrible isolation of the leper and trial by combat are very well conveyed in carefully built-up and authentic detail. The superstitions lurking so close below the surface become an integral part of the story in "The Baker's Daughter", and in the Viking's pagan belief, worked on by the dying priest in "The Leper's Falcon".

Inevitably, the book as a whole is rather uneven, and for the older reader, who becomes involved with one set of characters, the appetite can be whetted rather than satisfied. Dialogue can be the



most difficult problem, especially in a medieval story, and sometimes the planted facts come thick and fast enough to make the result a bit unconvincing and stilted, as in the title piece Becket story.

But we can be grateful to Mr Rush for providing such a living and breathing picture gallery from a period less well-served than that from the Tudors onwards and many, outside the 10-14 age range he has aimed at, will enjoy meeting Wulfstan, Johnny Gadabout, Friar Bridge and their friends.

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## ANGLICAN LITURGY

by Herbert Waddams

In his *A History of the Anglican Liturgy* (Macmillan. St Martin's Press, 1969. 450 pages, £3.50) Canon C. J. Cuming has given us all we need to know—and more—of the history of Anglican Liturgy. The struggles which have characterized the formation of new texts and the unChristian attitudes which have masqueraded under the banners of theological truth can only cause depression in the minds of those who value the Gospel. So often the "state of play" has seemed either to be wrangles over theological minutiae or a complete failure to act when changes were needed. The case of the Reverend John Jones may be taken as an example of the latter condition. In 1749 he filled a whole volume with suggestions for liturgical revision, which aroused great interest and discussion. The only actual outcome was a special form of prayer, issued ten years later, "for the ceasing of the distemper which lately raged among the horned cattle in this kingdom".

With commendable learning and challenging detail this book gives in 265 pages the history and background of Anglican Prayer Books up to the end of the 1960s. This is followed by 130 pages of documents. For any reader without a highly specialised knowledge Canon Cuming provides all the requisite facts with restrained but relevant comment, and includes revisions from all over the Anglican Communion.

In a mass of detail very few criticisms can be made, though on page 151 the date of the *Durham Book* is not at all clear. Perhaps a Canterbury reviewer may be pardoned for wanting the 'a' dropped from the name of Thomas Becket (p. 53): it is an unnecessary and inaccurate medievalism.

It is difficult to conceive a better book for anyone who wants thoroughly to understand the background of Anglican liturgical practice.

# BECKET: A CLASSIC BIOGRAPHY

by Peter Partner

David Knowles is of course an old master on the Becket subject. His *Thomas Becket* (A. & C. Black, *Leaders of Religion* series, London, 1970) is a book such as one would wish for and expect from such a writer. Brief, clear and pithy, it is likely to remain the classic formulation of scholarly views on the political career and the death of Thomas of London. Dom David Knowles defines his own task as "the perception of political wisdom and moral worth". The historical context in which he sees Becket and Henry II is naturally that of their own day, but when he projects their shadows forward he sees them not against the humdrum background of the English Church in the later middle ages, but against the stormy events of the Henrician Reformation. Henry VIII is referred to on at least seven occasions in this short book, and most of the references are at important points in the text. So definitely do Henry II's character and aims stand out in the book that at the end the harsh and perhaps tyrannical king throws the diffuse and subtle personality of Thomas into shadow, and the story seems a curtain-raiser to the great drama of the other Henry and of the English Reformation.

The historical sources for the later career of Becket are very lengthy. Their interpretation and dating are extremely technical and difficult, and the task of modern historians is made much harder, as Dom David says, by the narrow instructions given by the nineteenth-century Master of the Rolls for the compilation of the series of which the *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* form a part. Dom David writes of this collection: "their careful perusal is necessary, for unless one has read the whole *corpus* one cannot appreciate the strains and stresses to which individuals of every party (in the Becket controversy) were subjected". The only modern editing which has appreciably lightened the author's task of re-reading and assessing this great body of documents is the edition of Gilbert Foliot's letters and charters by Dom Adrian Morey and Professor C. N. L. Brooke. There is, for example, no modern diplomatic analysis of the vital but difficult document in which Pope Alexander III is said to have allowed some of the Constitutions of Clarendon and condemned others. The ease with which Dom David moves through this great mass of diplomatic, legal and chronological problems is possible only to a great master of historical method.

Perhaps because the work forms part of a series designed to provide a "basic history of Christianity in Britain", technical questions of canon law are reduced in it to the minimum needed to understand the issues involved in the Constitutions of Clarendon. It seems a pity that the legal positions adopted by the papal canonists during the Becket affair, and the legal effect of the affair on the English Church after Becket's death are neither of them explained fully. The reviewer would have sacrificed most of the long discussion

of Gilbert Foliot's part in the crisis in order to have known more of Dom David's views on these matters. We also have to wait for Miss Beryl Smalley's forthcoming book on *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* to know very much about this topic. The rather political emphasis of Dom David's book was also apparent in the discussion of Becket's training in the household of Archbishop Theobald; it would have been interesting to know how far Theobald's *familia* fits into the reform of the common life of the cathedral clergy in this period, which has been the object of study by some recent continental scholars.

Dom David's phraseology provokes and stimulates. When he writes of the "remarkable political love-hate relationship" of Henry II of England and Louis VII of France, of the "idyllic situation" of the Anglo-Saxon Church, when he speaks of Henry II as "neither by temperament nor design a lawgiver", he jolts us awake. This is a lively book, with little in common with some books by scholars who are evidently distinguished and equally evidently retired. It is also a well-organised book. One of the big problems of historical biography is the need to "lead in" the general historical problems involved: in the present case those of English Church history, of royal administration of Church and State, of allied but secondary questions such as that of the sees of Canterbury and York. All these matters and many others of a technical nature are woven into the biography without loss of balance or incoherence of argument; this is an accomplished example of what is known in France as *haute vulgarisation*.

Another particular quality of the book is its sense of place—not in a sentimental way, but in one so connected with modern life as not to be afraid to mention the foam of the detergents on the surface of the Wandle brook as it runs through Merton. The most notable topographical passage in the book is that which leans on Dr Urry's *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* in order to describe the exact circumstances of Thomas's murder.

Though Dom David makes several attempts to do justice to Henry II's political ability and even to his sense of the higher importance of the Church, he emerges in this book as a faithless tyrant, whose oath never to give Thomas the kiss of peace was perhaps "the only oath he never broke". We notice that by Henry's orders even the relatives of the clerks of the exiled archbishop were persecuted by having their persons and their goods put to bail at the king's pleasure. We notice also that Henry II's "reforms", "though to our eyes achievements of lasting value for the future of English law and administration, were to those who bore the brunt of the exactions the work of a harsh ruler and his myrmidons". It was partly for this reason that Thomas seemed so dangerous to the government after his return to England in 1170. All this is well observed. Perhaps not everyone, in making the contrast between Henry and Becket, will agree that Becket in his last years possessed the "inner strength" which he had lacked while he held the Chancellorship.

But the psychology of Henry and of Thomas can be discussed endlessly and without conclusion. The reviewer would prefer to raise a matter to which Dom David refers by implication in his analysis of the political situation in 1170, but does not discuss specifically—the role of the laymen. Dom David's story is one of pope, king and prelates; in his discussion of the bishoprics he refers to "the two major interested parties—pope and king". But one wonders what was thought of the Becket affair by the laymen, who were the relatives or patrons of many of the prelates, the holders of many fees bestowed by churches or monasteries, the possessors of advowsons and of other forms of clerical patronage. Dom David mentions and emphasises that Becket's murderers were "magnates of substance, notable even among his (the King's) great men". Were they really as untypical of lay opinion as we are nevertheless left to infer? It would be fair to mention the unwillingness of the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall to sentence Becket at the Council of Northampton. But the doubt remains in the mind that Becket's murderers were no common felons, but men executing a policy in which many of the English nobility believed, the ancestors of the gentlemen who accepted the English Protestant Reformation.





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# CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE





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## EDITORIAL

Why are we doing this? People responsible for the production of any type of journal must ask themselves this question from time to time, and the *Chronicle* has recently been subjecting itself to the process of self-examination. As the editors understand it, the role of the *Chronicle* is to provide an account of such Cathedral affairs as are likely to be of interest to Friends, with particular reference to those which affect the fabric and furnishings, and those which involve Friends' money (in this context it must act to some extent as a journal of record, where major milestones in the life of the Cathedral are noted for posterity); to supply a forum, where scholars, antiquarians, and others with special communications to make concerning the Cathedral and related subjects, may present their ideas to an interested public; and to act as a shopwindow for the Friends and their work, attracting new members and increasing the enthusiasm of those already on the scene.

It would be impossible to assign a precise relative weight to these three aspects of the *Chronicle's* task, and it must sometimes be difficult to maintain a regular distribution of emphasis. At a deeper level, though, the purpose of the *Chronicle* must always be to serve the Friends. And among other things this will mean striking a reasonable balance between expenditure on a production which does them credit, and economising with ever-scarcer funds. One valuable economy that is possible this year is the use of the *Chronicle* as a vehicle for the Steward's Report on his Australasian visit—an article which replaces the Newsletter promised in the 1972 Annual Report.

Our contributors have responded most generously to crampingly tight deadlines for this issue. The Steward's article is followed by John Goddard, a housemaster at The King's School, Canterbury, providing an illustration of the way Canterbury and Australia have been linked in the past, and are still linked today. These two articles of general and topical interest are followed by several in a more antiquarian vein. The well-known military historian, sporting correspondent and local resident Gregory Blaxland contributes a history of the Buffs and their connection with the Cathedral, prompted by the great 1972 anniversary service; William Whittaker writes on a perhaps unduly neglected figure, Joan of Burwash, who is buried in the crypt; Philip Blake provides a study of the newly-painted heraldry of the Chichele porch, and in doing so overturns an accepted theory about its commemorative significance; and, finally in this group, Canon Derek Ingram Hill describes some of the more remarkable features, customs and ceremonies of the establishment of what he calls "the superlative Cathedral". These items dealing with the more or less remote past are followed by three articles dealing with important developments in the Cathedral's present. Peter Marsh, now Surveyor to the Fabric in succession to Mr. Harold Anderson, writes on the restoration

of Bell Harry, a nine-year labour which is now at last coming to a close; Canon Joseph Robinson summarises the Dean and Chapter's policy on the Mason's Yard; and Allan Wicks outlines the future for the Choristers. Finally, there is the usual review of recent books likely to be of interest to Friends.

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It is now some months since we were shocked by the sudden death of Herbert Waddams, and many tributes have been paid to him in the meantime; but it would be impossible to pass over in silence his powerful and sterling service to the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral. As a member of the Council and the Executive Committee, and as chairman of the then Editorial Committee, he brought to bear his characteristic incisiveness and rapid clarity of mind to the great benefit of the Friends, until his resignation due to pressure of work at the beginning of 1971. The loss of his constructive vigour and sense of purpose is a sad blow to the Cathedral he served so well, just as the absence of his infectious, dry humour and stimulating personality leaves a gap in the lives of those many who knew and admired him for his humanity as much as for his gifts.



# AUSTRALASIA 1972

## IN SEARCH OF FRIENDS

by John Nicholas

More than thirty years had passed since I first left my native Western Australia to find myself almost immediately in the British Army for six war years, to marry and spend my subsequent working life continuously in this country save for three post-war visits; the last two spanning a period of three years ending sixteen years ago. My affinity to things British has always been strong, and it had recently reached its peak in my stewardship of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral; but anticipation of the sights, the smells, the particular savour of Australia, of renewing and being renewed in the strength of my oldest memories and friendships was producing in me what I recognised as an abiding affinity also to many things Australian, and this was ample counter to the less pleasing awareness that in the course of my 80-day mission I would need to step in and out of a jet aircraft some 50 times! Such were my thoughts as I sat strapped-in for take-off at an English airport on a late January winter's night.

Twenty-four hours flying time, thirty-two of clock time, and I would be in Perth again. In fact I broke the journey for almost 48 hours in Singapore; time enough to realise, from my eye-opening re-sight of that transformed modern city—now somehow reminiscent of one of the more glamorous sequences in a James Bond film—that I was likely to find a somewhat different Australia to the country I imagined I knew so well.

Prepared for some surprises, I arrived in Perth in the middle of a hot summer's night to be met by one of my oldest personal friends and to stay in the spacious riverside house of another in one of Perth's many, and nowadays extraordinarily well-ordered and beautiful, suburbs all ablaze with flowering trees and colourful gardens, where almost everybody appears to live in an atmosphere of substantial prosperity surrounded by everything they could reasonably need for their material comfort and pleasure. As I found things, this does not paint too highly-coloured a picture of the very high standard of living throughout Australia, and in New Zealand the standard is also high if generally less obviously so.

Such comfort is not in itself new, of course. Personally I had a very happy and carefree Australian youth, and I know no part of the "developed" world where that is more possible than in Western Australia. All the Australian cities have a great deal to offer the young, but because of its moderate size (about 650,000), its equable climate (perhaps a bit too hot for some), and the position of its city centre and major suburbs in a rough reversed triangle between river and Indian Ocean beaches, narrowing from possibly 8 or 9 miles at the top to 1 or 2 at the bottom, the city of Perth makes a taste for a great variety of outdoor pursuits easier to satisfy than

does any other Australian city. Nonetheless, it was in Perth that I first appreciated the shift in emphasis, in both thought and feeling, towards things local and Australasian as opposed to things wider-based and traditionally British-influenced. This is an inevitable development and is generally to be admired and praised, not denigrated. If it has made Australians and New Zealanders more self-centred—and which adult nation is not self-centred today—it has also made them and the countries in which they live far more interesting and stimulating than I ever remember them being in the past.

A different world then; far removed from the world I had just left. The aeroplane has accentuated, not lessened, the differences between the world's various parts. In getting us from place to place so quickly it has destroyed any possibility of our adjusting naturally and immediately to seasonal and environmental changes.

The Australian continent with the New Zealand islands, together roughly the size of the whole of Europe or the U.S.A., is (Madagascar solely apart) the only large land mass wholly within the Southern Hemisphere. It is the *other* side of the world and as far away as ever it was. It is true, of course, that the southern part of Africa and most of South America are in the Southern Hemisphere too; but Australasia's singular geographical isolation must affect the outlook of its peoples now that they have emerged into fully independent and self-confident nationhood. They do, in fact, see themselves as an integral part, indeed as a centre in many respects, of a rapidly developing Pacific and Indian ocean world which is unlike the Atlantic world, and world maps I frequently saw there show Britain as a small dot in the far left-hand corner with Australia "radiating", as it were, to southern Africa on the left, the Pacific seaboard of Canada and the U.S.A. to the north-east, Central and South America to the right, Japan, China, Malaysia and Indonesia to the north, and the Indian sub-continent, Iran, Iraq, and Arabia to the north-west. This is heady stuff and looks a long way into the future, but the dream is there and dreams have been known to come true.

Out of what is perhaps Earth's most ancient continent who is to say that the newest of new births in mankind's evolution may not one day be brought forth? After all, a pattern is there for us all in Canterbury Cathedral. Unchanged through seventeen centuries in the purpose for which the ground beneath it has been used, and containing, I doubt not, unidentifiable relics of St. Augustine's Saxon-built Cathedral plus, for all to see, feel, and still use, those massive parts of the original Norman Cathedral built 900 years ago and the magnificent and endlessly fascinating parts re-fashioned, re-built or added to over each century since, Canterbury, to me and many others the greatest and most significant of many great English Cathedrals, where the roots of the whole English-speaking world's history and civilisation lie and have always been protected, nourished, and developed, stands constant and unchangeable yet

ever vital and forward-looking today in revealing mankind afresh to himself.

All those things for which Canterbury stands know no national bounds. They belong to everyone, and the building itself belongs, as a possession, to the peoples of every nation fashioned historically in the British mould. Of these none outside the British Isles are more plainly so fashioned than the nations of Australasia.

Many present-day Australians and New Zealanders are in something of a quandary over the current conscious effort there to present themselves as a people different to and distinct from the British; for like it or not they *are* basically British. I haven't the figures, but my guess is that not less than 90% of the total population must come from British stock (including the Irish) and that the greater part of that percentage is less than two generations removed from British birth. There are a few pioneer settler families in Australia who could by now perhaps have reached the seventh generation Australian-born, but most of them would be in the fifth or sixth generation, and, as far as my knowledge goes, all these families have retained close links with Great Britain or Ireland since the early days of colonisation and continue to do so. It was the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851 that increased the tiny population at that time to one million by 1860. It had risen to four and a half millions by 1911; today it is concentrated in the huge (with their seemingly endless sprawling suburbs) city complexes of Sydney and Melbourne, each containing nearly three million people; these centres, together with the other smaller State Capital cities scattered around a south-western, southern and eastern coastline which stretches roughly the distance from Oslo to Athens excluding the Spanish peninsula, probably cover about three-quarters of the total population of some thirteen millions. A population, as I say, overwhelmingly British in background.

British history is, therefore, inescapably also the history of the peoples of Australasia. Everything there—the cities with their churches and other fine late Victorian buildings still predominating among outcrops of the now universal plain and straight-up buildings (“high-risers” as they are called there), the dignified Clubs, the great schools, the basic public and private manners and attitudes of Australians and New Zealanders—is British in pattern if charmingly Australasian-British on occasion.

Such a tradition is not easily dissipated; nor do most people really wish it to be. For all the strength of current accents on *Australiana* as such, I detected no anti-British sentiment. At most there was a new kind of detachment born of a somewhat “hurt” regret (perhaps expressed more vigorously than that in tone) that so little is done from the *British* end to maintain contact and interest.

Here, surely, Canterbury has a unique part to play. The slightly fewer than two hundred new names I succeeded in adding to the membership roll of Canterbury Cathedral's Australasian Friends, the bulk of them in South Australia where Julian Bickersteth had

established strong links many years earlier, was less than I had hoped for and expected; but among them are some dozen schools and other corporate bodies representing between them perhaps 12,000 people who may each develop a rewarding long-term feeling of being linked to Canterbury through regular future reading of the *Chronicle* and other Friends' publications.

In retrospect, therefore, and especially in the light of some of the changed and changing conditions I have indicated, there is cause, perhaps, for delight rather than dismay at the modest fourfold increase in overall Australasian membership of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral in 1972, and I would like here to record my deep personal thanks not only to old and new members of the Friends there, but to everybody I was fortunate enough to meet in Australia and New Zealand. Both countries have an unrivalled reputation for friendliness, kindness, and warm hospitality, and I most certainly experienced all these things everywhere I went during my two-and-a-half-months visit. Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart, Sydney, Brisbane, Canberra, in Australia; and Christchurch, Wellington, Wanganui, Auckland, in New Zealand; all these cities, each with an attraction of its own, remain vividly in my memory, as I hope Canterbury Cathedral does in theirs.

*[The Steward's themes of continuity amidst change, and the value accorded to historical British links in the evolving society of Australia, are taken up in the following article, which examines these matters, as it were, in microcosm, and with particular reference to Canterbury's contribution—and its problems.—Ed.]*



# AN AUSTRALIAN CHAPEL

by John Goddard

“The King’s School was founded in A.D. 1831 by Archdeacon Broughton, who in 1836 was consecrated first Bishop of Australia. His intention was to introduce into Australian life the best features of the English Great Public Schools, their systems, ideals and traditions, with suitable modifications for the needs of the new land. The founding of the School, the first of its kind, created much interest in the Mother Country, and had the sympathy and help of His Majesty King William IV, and the Duke of Wellington. In recognition of the royal sympathy it was called The King’s School; and it has ever been in friendly relationship with its great namesake, The King’s School at Canterbury, England.”

Those words open the 1920 prospectus of The King’s School, Parramatta. Curiously, although they do establish a link with the school at Canterbury, through the name, The King’s School, they fail to mention the most important link the two schools had: that Archdeacon Broughton had been educated at King’s, Canterbury, and, presumably, part of his inspiration for his new school was drawn from his old school. However, the two schools are linked through Broughton, through their names, and through the links of friendship established over years.

But I digress from my real purpose, which is to talk of an Australian chapel. One of the suitable modifications which Broughton made at Parramatta was in the nature of the school chapel. At Canterbury he had not known a school chapel as such, for the school worshipped, as it still does, in Canterbury Cathedral. How would this tradition transplant to the new colony? Broughton wrote in 1836 of “a small Chapel which would cost some hundreds of pounds, as one of the several improvements needed on the new site of The King’s School, Parramatta”. But plans were slow to develop and although a fund for a chapel was started in 1873, little progress was made until 1887 when the then Headmaster of T.K.S. (as the Parramatta School often abbreviate their name), the Revd. A. St. J. Gray, put new vigour into the project. Gray considered a chapel as “the first essential and distinguishing mark of a Public School”. In October, 1887, the foundation stone of the chapel was laid. The architects, Loweish, Moorhouse and Figgis, were from Melbourne, and the chosen builder, Noller, was from Parramatta, and he had undertaken to complete the building for £1,496. Of course, delays and unexpected costs are not new features of the building scene and the final cost of Mr. Noller’s building was £2,350, and the School Council was not finally free of debt until 1891.

The new chapel accommodated 142 and was used daily for worship after the consecration in 1889. As the school grew so did the chapel. A first extension in 1908 enabled day boys to worship with the rest of the school. After the Great War a new extension was completed as a war memorial and after the Second World War

a bronze figure and seven windows formed another memorial. Thus with daily use and historic addition the chapel became part of the fabric of the school's life.

After the Second World War it was decided to move the whole school to a new site at Gowan Brae. A new site, a new style, a new age—and a new chapel? No. The decision was made in 1964 that the old chapel should be demolished and re-erected on the Gowan Brae site without addition. And so it was. Some changes have been made: the seating has been rearranged and the altar moved from the rear wall so that the communion rail completely surrounds the table; but essentially the chapel remains the same.

Among the stones moved were of course the two historic stones, one from Winchester and one from Canterbury, which the chapel incorporated in the chancel floor. The inscriptions explain: "The Winchester Stone—One of the original stones of Winchester College Chapel built by William of Wykeham in A.D. 1387. Presented by the Warden and Fellows of the College in A.D. 1928". "The Canterbury Stone—One of the original stones of the Aula Nova at Canterbury built in the twelfth century. Presented by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, Governors of The King's School, Canterbury in A.D. 1929."

Why was the decision taken to move the old chapel to a new site? Why not build a modern chapel? Perhaps the Archbishop of Sydney in his sermon at the re-dedication of the chapel on Sunday, 23rd April, 1972, summed up what many felt when he said, "It is partly because of its value as a War Memorial that a universal desire was felt in the Old Boy community not to leave the Chapel behind when the School moved to Gowan Brae. Other factors helped to strengthen this desire and to translate it into reality. There can be no living Old Boy today who knew the School before the Chapel was built in 1887, and its re-establishment on this site makes it the one strong tangible connection with the old School. It is an outward sign of the identity and continuity of the oldest school foundation in Australia. Nothing could be finer in a Church School than that the symbol of continuity should be centred in the Chapel. Here generations of boys have had their faith nurtured and their vision enlarged by reading and hearing the Word of God. Here boys in the future will find that true Christian character is moulded and sustained by discipline and devotion in prayer and in worship." The Archbishop has expressed a noble ideal in eloquent language, and yet, to at least one observer from the old mother country, he seems to have left unfaced, or unspoken at least, the problems of transmitting a timeless faith clothed in Victorian garb to modern youth. T.K.S., Parramatta is facing and facing up to these problems, if I understand their school magazine aright.

And what of us who have no need to consider whether we should move and rebuild our school chapel? For us Canterbury Cathedral is our present symbol of continuity, and it still provides us with the opportunity for discipline and devotion in prayer and in worship. How should we react if fate decreed that our school should move its

site? Not, I suppose, an unthinkable thought when the very existence of independent and religious education is in question. Should we decide to dispense with a chapel altogether? Should we, like the French Revolutionaries, decide to propagate faith in a Supreme Being? Should we rebuild Canterbury Cathedral—or, being faint hearts, a portion of it, perhaps Our Lady Undercroft? Should we erect a contemporary-style chapel, asking, say, Sir Basil Spence to be our architect? Faced with these uncomfortable alternatives the Australian solution of bodily removal seems a reassuring one.

T.K.S., Parramatta owes its existence to an inspiration derived from Canterbury, its school and its cathedral. May we, now, derive an inspiration from the resurrection of their school chapel? Have they not been right to retain almost unchanged the essentials, the symbol of continuity, and yet to question, and to encourage the evolution of practices and forms of worship and service? I am glad that we do not face the problem of what to do with our chapel. And yet, in a deep sense, we all face just that problem.

# THE BUFFS AND THE CATHEDRAL

by Gregory Blaxland

A great tempest raged as 1,814 members and guests of the Queen's Own Buffs Regimental Association assembled in the Cathedral to honour the Four Hundredth anniversary of the raising of The Buffs. The service was wonderfully impressive, and as the dignitaries made their exit at its end, it had reluctantly to be conceded by those responsible that the ensuing parade would have to be cancelled, for the tempest had increased its fury. The veterans refused to hear of any such thing. Some had come hundreds of miles, some even thousands, and they were not going to be put off merely by some "inclement weather", as it would have been labelled in their service days. Slanted to maintain equilibrium, they bravely faced the gale and marched past the Mayor in the High Street at a strength of 375, preceded by the band of their descendants, the 3rd Battalion The Queen's Regiment, and 260 serving soldiers, all territorials.

They had come on this Saturday, April 29th, 1972, to commemorate an event that took place at Greenwich, on May 1st, 1572, and it is typical of the vicissitudes in the complicated process of regimental evolution that the centre of involvement should have switched from one place to another in the course of these four centuries. Yet Canterbury Cathedral was closely involved in the cause for which the earliest ancestors of the Buffs went off to fight. They went to aid the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands against oppression by the might of Spain, exerted in the name of Holy Rome, and no one can have been more anxious to curb the might of Spain than Thomas Godwin, second Dean of Canterbury, who could be assured an early place in the conflagrations if the Spaniards spread their might across the English Channel.

It was clearly as a deterrent to any such attempt that the Trained Bands of London, who under a charter conferred by King Edward III enjoyed the status of volunteers, were called up for a period of thrice weekly training and organised into companies of pike and shot, commanded by veterans of campaigns in the Protestant cause. Its climax came on this May Day, 1572, when the Trained Bands paraded, at a strength of 3,000, before their Queen Elizabeth outside her palace at Greenwich. It was a day of squalls, in the style of its one of commemoration, and yet it did not stop the great array from giving a display of their many warlike feats.

Although the Buffs could claim this event as that of their origin, on the testimony of a participant, Sir Roger Williams, the connection was in fact fortuitous. It was a time when the Queen and her government were ardently pursuing a policy of neutrality, while her adventurous subjects were waging war as privateers, and it was to certain "great men who favoured the cause" that the deputies from Flushing made appeal when they arrived in London, desperately seeking aid against the wrath that would ponderously fall upon them for their defiant slaying of their quisling governor. The great men turned to one of the veteran captains, Thomas Morgan, and he



took advantage of the parade to levy a fair company, three hundred strong. At least a hundred were gentlemen of property, each no doubt possessing his own individual suit of armour, and the remainder presumably were volunteers from the Trained Bands, clad according to tradition in buff rawhide jerkins.

Morgan arrived at Flushing in the nick of time and threw the investing Spanish troops into confusion by a series of daring raids. Coming immediately after the capture of Brill by the Dutch "sea beggars", in which the English were also privately involved, this new initiative provided a great boost to the revolt and led to the forming of fresh English companies and the enlargement of Morgan's force to a full regiment. In 1585 Queen Elizabeth abandoned her neutrality and sent a large official force, under the Earl of Leicester. Ten years later the Dutch agreed to pay the English troops, whose strength was stabilised at four regiments. Apart from a twelve-year truce, the fight went on and on, until at last the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands (of which Holland was the chief) gained full independence under the Treaty of Munster, 1648.

The four English regiments, who had made such an immense contribution, stayed on as garrison, together with three Scottish ones, and there they remained during the great upheavals in their own country, including the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II. He was urged to recall his troops when war slowly brewed with Holland between 1664 and 1665. He declined to do so, and when the Dutch enforced an oath of allegiance on their mercenaries those brave enough to refuse to take it would have been marooned, if the English Envoy at The Hague had not managed to arrange passages home for them by some means unknown. Charles had to do something about them when they made their presence felt on their return, and on May 31st, 1665, he formed them into a single regiment, named Our Holland Regiment of Foot. Robert Sidney, grandson of the first Earl of Leicester, was made Colonel, and the fact that he was almost certainly father of the Duke of Monmouth (whose mother, Lucy Walter, had been his mistress at The Hague) may have had something to do with the King's reluctance to recall his troops.

It seems to have been recognised that the Holland Regiment stemmed from the Trained Bands of London, for on April 29th, 1672, a permanent warrant was issued to allow their recruiting parties to enter the City, which enjoyed special protection from the military under the terms of Edward III's charter. Years later, it appears to have occurred to the Buffs that this conferred on them the privilege of marching through the City in full array. The Lord Mayor agreed, and they exercised it at regular intervals from 1793 onwards, being the first of six regiments to do so. The London connection, of which the Buffs were very proud, had its representative at the commemorative service in the person of Yeoman Jailer Belson, a former R.S.M. of the Buffs.

Three regiments of foot had been taken on the English establishment before the formation of the Holland Regiment. The third of them had been raised by the Duke of York in his appointment as Lord High Admiral and took part as marines, together with the Holland Regiment, in the Second and Third Dutch Wars. Following the Duke's conversion to King James II and his flight at the close of 1688, his old regiment was disbanded. It had been passed on to Prince George of Denmark, who was also Lord High Admiral (and the husband of Anne), and he was now appointed to the hon. colonelcy of the Holland Regiment. As a result of this the title of Holland Regiment fell into disuse, and Denmark loomed the larger as country of allegiance when another Royal Dane, King Frederik VIII, was appointed Colonel-in-Chief of The Buffs by his brother-in-law, King Edward VII, in 1906. The connection has been maintained ever since and accounts for the presence of the Danish Ambassador at the commemorative service and the absence of any representative of Holland.

James had done his best to convert this regiment of staunch Protestant tradition to his own Roman faith by appointing Catholics as both its Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, and with his departure they went too. The new Colonel was Charles Churchill, brother of John, the recently created Earl of Marlborough, and it was as Churchill's that the Regiment fought the first of its many ferocious battles in Flanders, that is as a single regiment. They suffered heavily at Steinkirk in 1692 and even more heavily at Landen a year later, where as culmination to a day of stifling heat and desperate fighting, they lost their three colours, hacked from their ensigns.

Returned to Europe in 1703, after an interlude in Spain and their first visit to Canterbury, they gained glory under Churchill at Blenheim and Ramillies and were awarded a Royal badge, the Dragon, which can be claimed to be the Tudor Dragon, such as bore the arms of Queen Elizabeth, and therefore commemorates the Regiment's origin in her reign. They also fought at Oudenarde and at Malplaquet, suffering as heavy losses as any at the latter, under the dashing leadership of the Duke of Argyle. These were famous years in regimental history, and it would appear that the nickname "Old Buffs" crept into use during them. Their long scarlet coats had always had buff linings, and they wore cuffs, waistcoats, and breeches of the same colour. My own guess is that the nickname gained coinage through pique at the intrusion of four new regiments similarly clad.

Their service for the Hanoverians began with a sharp clash at Sheriffmuir, in which they dashed the ambitions of the Old Pretender and lost their Colonel, the Earl of Forfar, murdered after capture, and continued with a booty-packed raid on Vigo. After far their longest home tour, a matter of twenty-three years, they were in action again at Dettingen in 1743, where they did little more than stop the King's bolting horse, and at Fontenoy in 1745, where they

fought a tough and skilful rearguard action. Then came two more battles in Scotland, at Falkirk and Culloden Moor in 1746, followed by another in Flanders in 1747, the bloody, disastrous, yet gallant affair at Lauffeld. In the Seven Years War the Buffs saw action in the West Indies, at Belle Isle, off the French coast, and in Portugal, and in the War of American Independence they fought a savage drawn battle at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, and were among the last to be evacuated, sailing for Jamaica in May, 1782.

Recruits became so hard to obtain during this war that county affiliations were introduced, and it appears to be because the Colonel of the Regiment, Major-General Style, happened to live in Kent that the Buffs were affiliated to East Kent. The official title became the 3rd (East Kent) Regiment of Foot (The Buffs) but permission was soon given for recruits to be obtained from any part of the country considered most fruitful and the East Kent connection became purely nominal.

The Napoleonic Wars brought the Buffs traumatic experiences in North-West Europe and the West Indies and glory in the Peninsular. It was gained at small cost on the Douro, which the Buffs were the first to cross, undetected by the French, whose eventual onslaught they repulsed on their own; this was the first honour to adorn their colour, a new and rare distinction. It was gained at shattering cost at Albuhera, where by leading an impetuous counter-attack they were caught in flank and in line by a cavalry charge from their right rear. Both ensigns went down bravely, but the King's Colour was saved because Lieutenant Latham stuffed it, torn from its pike, inside his tunic after having his face slashed almost in two and his right arm severed. He survived, to receive surgical treatment at the personal expense of the Prince of Wales, a gold medal from his brother officers, and the immortality conveyed by a huge silver centrepiece depicting his deed, which was acquired for the tercentenary celebrations in 1872.

The Buffs gained eight other battle honours in the Peninsular and were in action again immediately after that campaign, in a muddled, unhonoured encounter with Americans in New York State. They later went to Australia, sailing as escorts in convict ships, and thence onwards to the great new consumer of British troops, India. Their one action in a long and gruelling tour was a brisk attack against Mahrattas at Punniar, and the colours they carried became their first to enter Canterbury Cathedral, being laid up there in 1848. This was a new custom, and its inception seems to have given the Buffs, who were in Belfast at the time, a happy new awareness of the East Kent connection, thanks to the appeal of the Cathedral.

It gained further strength after the Crimean War, in which the Buffs led the last assault on the Great Redan and gained two V.C.'s. In memory of their dead comrades, they were allowed to place a window in the Warriors', or St. Michael's, Chapel, and the colours

they carried, which were the only ones to enter Sebastopol, were laid up beside it, where they remain as the oldest colours of the Buffs in the Cathedral, since the Punniar ones were removed to the Tower of London, in token of the older connection. Although the founding warriors of the Chapel, the Earl of Somerset and the Duke of Clarence, were of even greater antiquity than the Buffs, one of the three other old monuments is of regimental relevance, being to Lieutenant-Colonel William Prude, who was killed in 1632 at the siege of Maastricht, fighting for the liberation of the Netherlands.

As a result of the Indian Mutiny, the Buffs gained a second battalion, as one of the senior twenty-five regiments. It was raised at Limerick in 1857 and brought to Canterbury for purposes of acquaintance. When in Malta, the adjutant coined a famous saying by shouting, "Steady The Buffs!" on the barrack square. An act of amazing defiance by Private Moyes of the 1st Buffs during an invasion of China in 1860 brought better deserved fame, thanks to a poem by Sir Francis Doyle. Moyes chose to die rather than kowtow to his captor after losing his way with the rum cart. Doyle's tribute to this alleged "drunken private of the Buffs" (who could not possibly have been drunk at the time) ended:

So, let his name through Europe ring—

A man of mean estate,

Who died, as firm as Sparta's king,

Because his soul was great.

By the introduction of the Cardwell System in 1873, the Buffs at last acquired a permanent depot in Canterbury and turned to East Kent for their recruits. By an extension of this scheme in 1881 the East Kent Militia was made an integral part of the Buffs, providing the Regiment with its first citizen soldiers. The Volunteers followed on their conversion to Territorials, as the 4th and 5th Buffs, in 1908.

This closer integration with the county must have pressed the Buffs to compete for space on the walls of the Cathedral with those regiments whose memorials already proliferated. Thus on the north wall of the nave a combined memorial was erected to the mercifully few dead suffered by the 1st Buffs in Malaya in 1874-5 and by the 2nd Buffs in the Zulu War of 1879. On the south wall, standing between the splendidly Victorian monuments of two subsequent neighbours, the 50th Queen's Own or West Kent and the 31st Huntingdonshire, later East Surrey, the 1st Buffs have a memorial to their North-West Frontier campaigns of 1895 and 1897, in which they relieved Chitral, after a horrific march across the ice-gripped Himalayas, and fought with the Malakand Field Force. Although another V.C. was won, casualties were not high, and as was so often the case, the majority of the 110 soldiers named died from disease.

This just about filled the Cathedral walls, and the dead in the Boer War, in which the 2nd and 3rd Buffs fought, have their memorial in Dane John. In the Great War, the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th and 8th Buffs fought in Flanders, the 2nd also in Macedonia, the 4th in Aden,



the 5th in Mesopotamia, and the 10th in Palestine and Flanders. Their dead reached the shattering total of 5,688, and a new and imaginative means of commemorating them was decided upon, that of having their names inscribed in a Book of Life, which was allowed a place in the Warriors' Chapel, where at 11 a.m. each day one of its pages was turned over by a recruit who marched on his own from the depot in Military Road.

On a certain day in the Second World War this ceremony was being performed by a 16-year-old band-boy when there was the crash of a bomb, violent vibration, and the splattering of glass. He carried on unmoved. Whether or not on this occasion, the Crimean window was smashed, and its replacement was among the calls on the regimental memorial fund, together with a second Book of Life. This one has 1,313 names inscribed, of men with wider spread graves. The 1st Buffs fought in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Italy; the 2nd in Belgium, France, Egypt and Burma; the 4th in France, Malta and the Grecian island of Leros; the 5th in France, Algeria, Tunisia, Sicily and Italy; and the 6th, after conversion to tanks but still wearing the Dragon, in Normandy, Belgium and Germany. Twenty-five battle honours were awarded for this war, compared with forty-eight for the First, bringing the grand total to 116.

This new window presents a heraldic history of the Buffs, containing various regimental insignia and those of Colonels of the Regiment. It was unveiled during the course of a service held on May 10th, 1952, by the Colonel-in-Chief, King Frederik of Denmark, making his first of three visits to Canterbury. As mark of the Regiment's affinity with the Cathedral, gifts were presented during this service, and dedicated by the Dean, of an altar of marble and stone, a cross and candlesticks of crystal and gold, and an altar carpet, all provided by subscription to the memorial fund.

After the 1st Buffs had seen action in Egypt, Kenya and Aden, they had to submit to the fate inflicted by the reduction of the Army as a whole, amalgamation with the 1st Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment. It was put into effect at Shorncliffe on March 1st, 1961. A month later, with a certain grim symbolism, the last Colonel of The Buffs, Major-General Val Boucher, died, after a long illness. His memorial, coupled with that of "all his illustrious predecessors", took the form of some wrought iron gates, bearing the Dragon and the regimental motto, *Veteri Frondescit Honore*, which enclose the Warriors' Chapel.

On October 5th, 1963, the last Colours of the 1st Buffs, which had been presented by the Colonel-in-Chief at Canterbury amid much pride and rejoicing as recently as 1955, were laid up in the Warriors' Chapel, alongside eight other sets—or stands—that had earlier completed their spiritual service to the Regiment. At the same time those of the 1st Queen's Own were laid up with them: mark of a striking act of faith by their officers and recognition that Canterbury was the home of the new regiment, The Queen's Own Buffs, The Royal Kent Regiment.

It did not last long. The threat of further reduction, and a number of other factors, induced the Colonels of the Home Counties Brigade—under encouragement but no more from the War Office—to combine into a larger and more viable regiment, which was named The Queen's Regiment and came into being on December 31st, 1966, taking the Dragon as its main badge. On April 1st, 1967, it absorbed the last survivors of the Buffs, the Territorial 4th and 5th Battalions, bringing the separate existence of the Regiment to a quiet, unacclaimed end. For a time men from the Queen's Depot kept the pages turned of the Buffs' Books of Life, but early in 1970 they were moved away under yet further regrouping, and it has since been left to veterans in retirement to keep alive the names of their comrades in this citadel of regimental remembrance which the Warriors' Chapel has become.

# JOAN OF BURWASH

by W. Whittaker

In the Burwash Parish Magazine of March, 1960, I included an article on Joan of Burwash (1325 to 1404), who lies buried in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral: she was the daughter of Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh who held the manor of Burghurst in Burwash. In that article was all that seemed to be known about her at the time. My wife and I often wondered if she had any brothers or sisters and we tried to find out more about her life and family. After some research we found that she had one sister married to the fifth Earl of Kildare and two brothers, Henry, and Bartholomew who became the 4th Baron Burghersh.

What turned out to be a great help was that a friend of ours who had visited Tewkesbury Abbey said there was a reference in a guide book there to an Elizabeth de Burghersh. The next year we were in Tewkesbury ourselves and in searching through the Abbey we found references to two Elizabeths de Burghersh. It was difficult to trace their relationship to Joan and we were only able to do this after obtaining some particulars of Joan's will from the Luttrell family, who had bought Dunster Castle from Joan and who, in fact, owned it until quite recently.

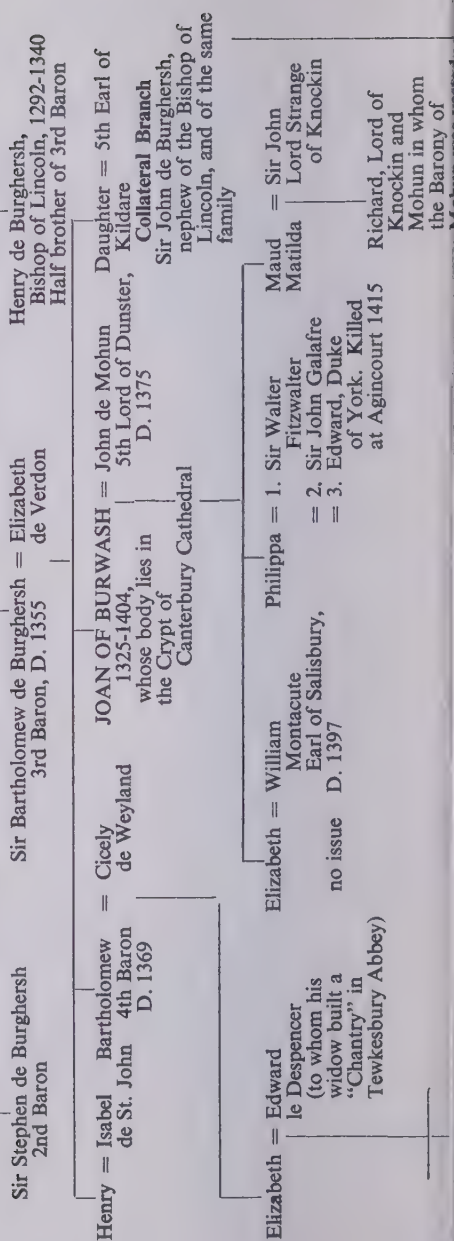
One Elizabeth turned out to be Joan's daughter who had married William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; the other was her niece (daughter of her brother Bartholomew) who had married Lord Edward le Despencer, to whose memory she erected a very fine Chantry in the Abbey.

The following article reflects some of the information we have collected to date but there are still many gaps. Apart from this article we have built up a family tree and have a number of items of family interest, not quite so closely connected with Joan, all of which we would be pleased to show to anyone who may be interested.

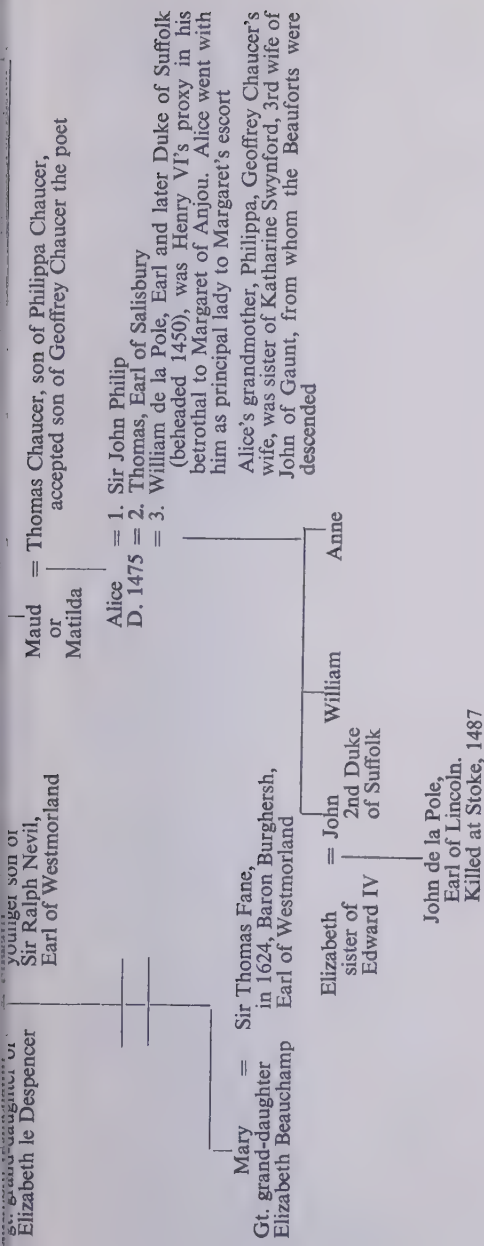
Authorities consulted and from which some extracts have been taken:—

Sussex Record Society, Vol. 53  
*Dictionary of National Biography*  
Victoria County History of Sussex, Vol. 9  
*Burke's Dormant and Extinct Peerages*  
*A History of Dunster* by Sir A. C. Maxwell Lyte  
*John of Gaunt* by S. Armitage-Smith  
Guide books at Tewkesbury Abbey  
*Froissart's Chronicles*

## Robert de Burghersh, 1st Baron, held Manor of Burwash, D. 1306







Joan (born 1325) was the daughter of Bartholomew, the third Baron de Burghersh, and Elizabeth de Verdon: we cannot trace anything of her childhood but as her family are known to have held the manor of Burghurst I think it is safe to assume that she would have spent much of her childhood in Burwash; furthermore, the words chipped in the surround at the base of her tomb refer to her as "of Borwashe". In 1340 she married John de Mohun of Dunster. This John was the 5th Lord of the manor of Dunster; his family had held Dunster and the lands thereabouts since the time of the Norman Conquest. He was only two years of age when his father died and only ten when his grandfather died in 1330, whereupon Henry de Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of England, a "worldly and avaricious Prelate", obtained the marriage of the young heir of Dunster to his niece Joan and custody of his lands during minority, within six days of the death of John de Mohun the grandfather. Within a few weeks, however, the Bishop fell into disgrace at Court and in January, 1331 the custody of two-thirds of the de Mohun inheritance was transferred to William Ayreminne, Bishop of Norwich, a "crafty, covetous and treasonable" man, who appears to have been holding some of the lands in 1334, the remainder and the person of the heir being in the hands of Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, a half brother of the Bishop of Lincoln.

It was at the special request of Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh that John de Mohun obtained livery of his lands in England without proving that he was of full age. Later he fought against the Scots and in 1342 and 1345 he went abroad with his father-in-law, a distinguished commander in the French wars of Edward the Third. At the battle of Crecy John was in the division of Edward Prince of Wales and took part in at least five subsequent campaigns, accompanying the Prince of Wales in 1359 and the Duke of Lancaster in 1373.

One can well understand that a man who spent so much of his time at the wars of his king should have found it difficult to live peaceably at home, and we soon find him being indicted with others for certain felonies in Somerset and being imprisoned for interfering with justice. At the same time he seems to have been held in some esteem, for he was one of the original Knights of the Garter and his name and arms are still in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

From early on in the marriage he seems to have been conveying certain of his properties to his wife and by 1369 he made over his chief estates, including Dunster and the Hundred of Carhampton for her benefit. By this time it would seem that she had indeed obtained complete ascendancy over John, either by power of the purse or by superior force of character.

Joan always played a very important part in the history of Dunster. There is a legend that she obtained from her husband as much common land for the poor of Dunster as she could walk round in a day, barefoot. There are some interesting details of the transfer of properties to him and to her and of mortgages, recorded in *A History of Dunster* by Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, K.C.B.

The de Mohuns had three children, all daughters; thus the senior de Mohun male line came to an end with Sir John's death on 15th September, 1375. He was buried in the Priory Church at Bruton in Somerset.

These daughters all made brilliant marriages. Elizabeth, the eldest, born at Goring in 1343, married William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, another of the original Knights of the Garter, so she was entitled to wear the robes of the Order: by a will dated in 1414 she left instructions for her burial at Bisham Abbey opposite the tomb of her husband, who had died in 1397; she died in the following January without issue.

Philippa, the second, was married three times, first to Walter Fitzwalter who died in 1386, secondly to Sir John Golafre who died in 1396, and thirdly to Edward Duke of York, killed at Agincourt in 1415 and grandson of Edward III. By a will dated at Carisbrooke Castle she directed that she should be buried in the Conventual Church of Westminster; she died in 1341 without issue and her monument is still to be seen there in the Chapel of St. Nicholas.

Maud, the youngest, married Sir John Le Strange of Knockin who died in 1397. She predeceased her mother, leaving a son and heir, Richard, who was sometimes styled "Lord of Knockin and Mohun".

Before her husband's death Joan had contemplated selling the Dunster properties to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, a widow; Joan to have a life interest in the property and possession to pass only on her death. A year after her husband's death she completed her bargain with Lady Luttrell and on 13th November, 1376, trustees settled the Castle of Dunster, the Manors of Kilton, Minehead, Carhampton and the Hundred of Carhampton on Joan for life, with remainder to Elizabeth Luttrell and her heirs. The price paid was 5,000 marks, and the property remained in the Luttrell family for nearly six hundred years; it was sold only a few years ago.

It would be interesting to know how Lady Luttrell contrived to raise so large a sum and how she paid it over, although it is not necessary to believe that the whole of it was made in coin of the realm. So, too, it would be interesting to know how Lady de Mohun, our Joan, disposed of it. A guess may, however, be hazarded that her husband had left considerable debts. It may be noted, by the way, that on the only occasion since the Norman Conquest on which Dunster Castle has passed by sale, it was sold by one widow and bought by another. In one respect, Joan certainly got the best of the bargain, for she lived nearly thirty years after the receipt of the money paid for rights in reversion.

From 1376 to 1404, Dunster Castle seems to have been practically shut up. None but the most necessary repairs were made. When Joan came down to visit her property in 1398, she took up her abode at Minehead, to which place the reeve of Dunster sent beef, mutton and a vast quantity of beer. For her a gloomy fortress in the west

of England can have had no attraction. She greatly preferred the gay atmosphere of the Court, and, as a change, the ecclesiastical surroundings of Canterbury. Thus we hear of her staying in London, Easthampstead and Sheen. Her agents in Somerset remitted money to her from time to time, and occasionally, provisions, such as porpoises, wine and chestnuts.

When at Court, Joan often exercised her influence in favour of condemned criminals. All the while, however, she was mindful of her own interests. Not content with the rents from her late husband's estates and the large sum she had received from Lady Luttrell, she managed to extract valuable concessions from her royal patrons. In 1384, Richard the Second, in consideration of her good service to him and the queen, granted to her an annuity of £100 for life out of the issues of her stannary (tin mines) of Devon and Cornwall. This she afterwards exchanged for the Manor and Hundred of Macclesfield, which were of somewhat greater value. It is worthy of remark that in some of the letters patent she is styled the King's "cousin" although she was not really related to him in blood. Queen Anne gave her a lease of the important castle and manor of Leeds, in Kent, with its mill, fishery and park. Inasmuch, however, as the Queen failed to do the promised repairs, Joan applied to the King to be excused from the payment of rent for the rest of her life.

It is interesting to note that in about 1375 she had charge of Henry, later King Henry IV, son of John of Gaunt by his first wife, Blanche; she was also in charge of Katharine of Lancaster, a daughter of John of Gaunt by his second wife, Constance. Incidentally, the other children of John of Gaunt, Philippa and Elizabeth, were under the charge of Dame Katharine Swynford, who later became his third wife.

Joan had no desire to be buried beside her husband in the obscure priory of Bruton, and, for some years before her death, she erected for herself an elaborate monument near the altar of St. Mary, in the crypt or undercroft of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. There her effigy is still to be seen. The head rests on two tasselled cushions supported by angels. The crown is encircled with a richly jewelled garland, and a jewelled frontlet stretches across the top of the forehead. A great mass of hair enclosed in a fret or jewelled net descends on both sides of the face to the level of the chin. As Joan had long since cast off all signs of widowhood, she does not wear a barbe and her neck is quite bare. A row of ten very large buttons adorns the close-fitting tunic of brocade known as a cote hardie, without sleeves and cut away for a considerable space beneath the armhole, thus revealing part of a jewelled girdle. Beneath is a kirtle reaching down to the feet, and there are remains of an outer mantle hanging from the shoulders. The lion at her feet is mutilated and her hands have been broken off since 1726. The dateless inscription, repeated on either side, shows the pride which, even as an aged widow, she took in her maiden name.



There is a notice board beside her tomb which reads as follows:—  
Lady Mohun.

Joan, daughter of Bartholomew of Burghersh (Burwash) married about 1340, her father's ward, Sir John de Mohun, a knight of the Garter and companion of the Black Prince at Crecy. After her husband's death she sold his castle and manor at Dunster for 5,000 marks to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, retaining the property for her lifetime. She lived much at Canterbury during her widowhood and, before her death in 1404, by agreement with the Prior of Christchurch, and on payment of 350 marks and many silken vestments, prepared her tomb in the undercroft. She made her will at Meister Omers in the precincts. The inscription below the recumbent effigy bids passers-by "For God's sake pray for the soul of Johane de Borwasche who was Lady of Mohun".

The effigy lies under a groined canopy supported by six lofty buttresses connected by cusped and crocketed arches. There are no armorial bearings on the monument itself, but the shields of the families of Mohun, Burghersh, Montacute, Strange and Despencer are to be seen in the cloisters of the great church above.

In 1395 Joan entered into a formal agreement with the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, that her body should be buried in the tomb which she had prepared, and never removed therefrom. One of the monks was to say mass daily for nine specified persons at the altar of St. Mary, or, on certain great festivals, at the altar of St. John Baptist near the famous tomb of St. Thomas. For this service he was to receive £2 a year, and the clerk in charge of the chapel was to receive 5s. a year for keeping the tomb clean and in good condition. On the eve of the anniversary of her death, *placebo* and *dirige* were to be sung; on the anniversary, a solemn mass of requiem was to be said, the celebrant receiving 6s. 8d. and the other two clergy 3s. 4d. apiece. A hundred poor people were also to receive 1d. apiece. In consideration of the benefits promised, Joan gave to the monks 350 marks, a set of three vestments of green "sendal" and two choir-copes of cloth of gold valued at £20, a missal worth £5, and a chalice worth £2, besides a bed worth £20 of white and red "camaka", with four cushions of the same, a covering lined with blue silk and curtains of "sendal" of Genoa and Tripoli.

Of the nine persons for whom masses were to be said, four were living in 1395, Richard, King of England, Lady Joan de Mohun, the foundress of the Chantry, "Elizabeth" presumably the Countess of Salisbury, her daughter and Elizabeth her niece. The other five persons already deceased were, "John", presumably her husband, "Edward", perhaps the late King, another "Edward", either the Black Prince or the husband of her niece, and Philippa and Anne, Queens of England. The omission from the list of her deceased daughter Maud, her living daughter Philippa and her living grandson Richard le Strange, is significant.

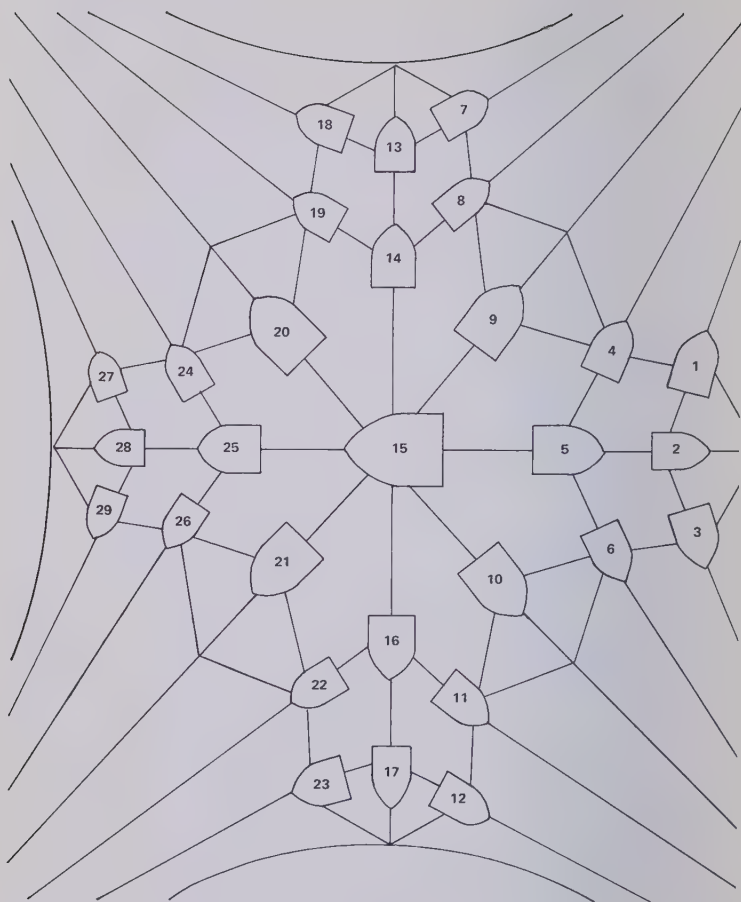
When Joan felt her end approaching, she sent for the Prior of Christ Church and delivered to him a closed box, to be entrusted to the two monks who acted as guardians of the shrine (feretri) of St. Thomas; the box contained the royal letters patent of 1369 and various important documents connected with the sale of Dunster, Minehead, Kilton and Carhampton. Conscious that there was likely to be trouble about her action in this matter, she bound the Prior to deliver the box to her heirs or to Sir Hugh Luttrell if either they or he got possession of the property without opposition or to the successful party if there should be a suit at law.

On the same day Joan made her will, at a house in the precincts of Canterbury known as Meister Omers. To the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom she nominated as executor, she bequeathed a psalter covered with white, and to her son-in-law the Duke of York a fair copy of *Legenda Sanctorum* and another illuminated book. To his wife she left her blessing, suggestive of a previous estrangement, and her best ruby. Her other daughter, the Countess of Salisbury, was to have her favourite cross and a second copy of the *Legenda Sanctorum*, and Lady le Despencer the elder was to have a bed of green silk. The only other relation mentioned was William Burghersh. To the Prior of Christ Church she bequeathed some old hangings embroidered with lions and some "Ystayned" hangings. One of her mantles was to be reserved for the wife of Sir Thomas Hawkwood. Friar John, her own confessor, was to receive 10 marks, and another Franciscan friar named Henry, 40s. There were further bequests to her six maidservants, to Philip Caxton her clerk, to John Sumpterman and John Gardener and other men who were presumably in her service. Provision was also made for the maintenance of three young scholars then at Canterbury. Every poor person coming to her funeral was to receive 1d., and on that occasion twelve poor men clothed in black at her expense were to hold torches, in addition to the four great candles weighing 20 lbs. that were to burn during the ceremony. All goods not otherwise disposed of were bequeathed to the church of Canterbury.

Two days after making the will to the foregoing effect, Joan, Lady de Mohun, died on the 4th day of October, 1404.



*The tomb of Joan of Burwash*



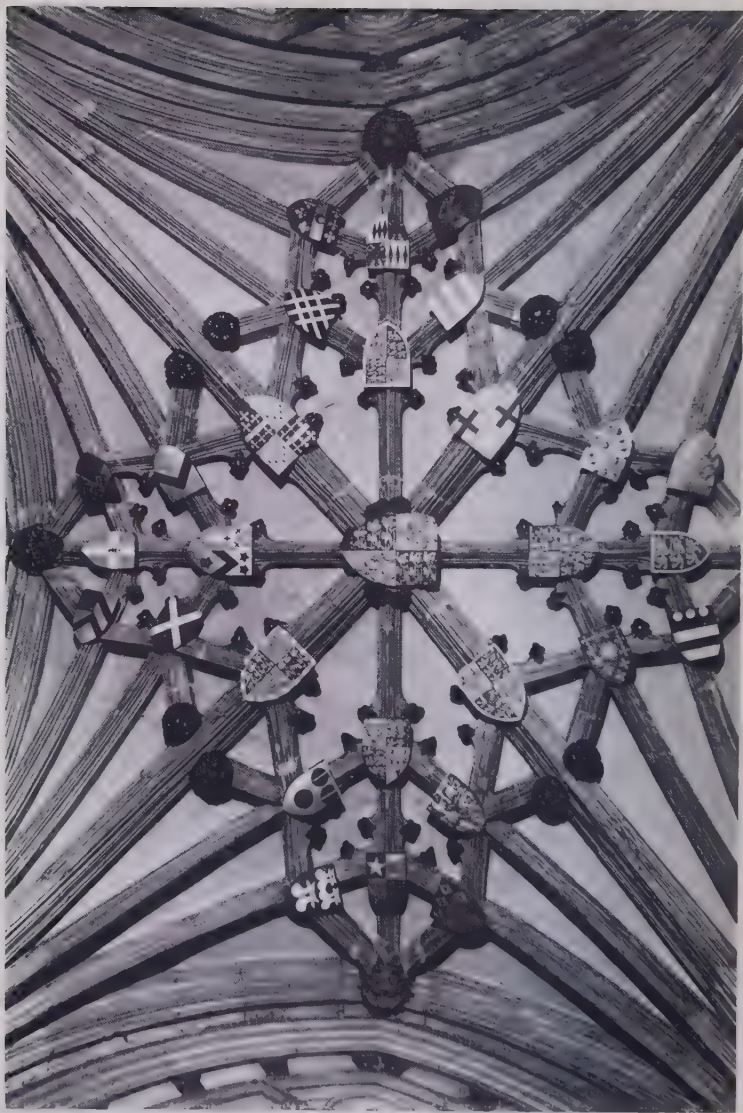
WEST

*The Chichele porch: plan of the vault heraldry. See key on opposite page.*



- 1       A    Sir Henry FitzHugh, K.G., 3rd Lord FitzHugh
- 2       L    Sir Edmund de Holand, K.G., 4th Earl of Kent
- 3       A    Sir Walter Hungerford, K.G.
- 4       A    Michael de la Pole, 3rd Earl of Suffolk
- 5       W    Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence
- 6       A    Sir Gilbert de Umfreville, commonly called Earl of  
          Kyme
- 7       W and
- probably A   Reynold de Cobham, of Sterborough
- 8       L    Sir Richard Grey, K.G., 4th Lord Grey of Codnor
- 9       A    Sir Edmund de Mortimer, K.B., 5th Earl of March
- 10      L    John Beaufort, 1st Earl of Somerset and Marquess of  
          Dorset
- 11      W    John de Mowbray, 5th Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal
- 12      A    William de Ferrers, 5th Lord Ferrers of Groby
- 13      A    Sir Thomas Montagu, K.G., 4th Earl of Salisbury
- 14      A    Humphrey of Lancaster, Duke of Gloucester
- 15      A    King Henry V
- 16      L    John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford
- 17      A    Sir Richard de Vere, K.G., 11th Earl of Oxford
- 18      W    Sir Richard Beauchamp, K.B., 2nd Lord Bergavenny
- 19      W and
- probably A   William de Harington, 5th Lord Harington
- 20      W    Sir Richard de Beauchamp, K.G., 13th Earl of War-  
          wick
- 21      L    Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester
- 22      W    Sir Hugh de Courtenay, 4th Earl of Devon
- 23      A    John de Ros, 7th Lord Ros
- 24      L    Sir Edmund de Stafford, K.G., 5th Earl of Stafford
- 25      L    Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury
- 26      L    Sir Ralph de Nevill, K.G., 1st Earl of Westmorland
- 27      L    John de Cobham, 3rd Lord Cobham of Kent
- 28           Christ Church, Canterbury
- 29      W    Sir Thomas Kyriell, of Eynesford, Kent.

(A = at Agincourt; W = in French Wars; L = a Lancastrian.)



*Vault of the Chichele porch*

# THE CHICHELE PORCH AS AN AGINCOURT MEMORIAL

by Philip H. Blake

The recent restoration of the vault of the Chichele porch of Canterbury Cathedral, most beautifully done with excellent heraldic colours, draws attention to the interesting, possibly unique, origin of this porch as a memorial to the House of Lancaster and in particular to King Henry V as a warrior and the victor of Agincourt. It seems strange that so distinguished a commemorative purpose should have been forgotten in the five and a half centuries of the porch's existence, but such appears to be the case.

It has been considered in modern times that the purpose was to commemorate descendants of the Fair Maid of Kent—Joan (ca. 1328-1385), Countess of Kent, Baroness Woodstock and Baroness Wake, grand-daughter of Edward I and the wife, first, of Sir Thomas Holland, K.G., of Broughton, Bucks., and secondly of Edward, the Black Prince. It is not easy to see what could have inspired such a purpose or why the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century should have been chosen to fulfil it. Moreover, the difficulties are increased by the presence of shields for persons in no way connected with the Fair Maid or even with the county of Kent. Nevertheless, a case for the Fair Maid has been put forward and has received a large measure of acceptance, so that it is necessary to examine it and ascertain thereby the evidence offered in its support.

The principal writer on the subject was the late Ralph Griffin, F.S.A., a distinguished antiquary, who described the heraldry of the porch in detail in a comprehensive paper in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXXI (1921). So great was his authority that his conclusions were not really questioned and, indeed, the heraldic shields, which had hitherto been plain, were coloured in accordance with his views.

In his opinion, and quoting his own words, the porch "was built in 1422 and 1423, and this corresponds almost exactly with the conclusion to be drawn from the heraldry. It consists mainly of coats of arms of descendants of the Fair Maid of Kent . . . Other coats in the porch are due to special connexion of the owners with Kent and the Cathedral."

These statements are definite, so that their accuracy can be tested. The first is that the porch was built in 1422-3. Earlier in his paper, Griffin says: "It will be seen from the twenty-nine shields with which the vault of the porch . . . is studded that it must have been finished about 1423."

What the twenty-nine shields show that suggests "about 1423" is not explained, but if the dates of death of the persons to whom Griffin assigns the shields are examined many will be found to be much later than that year. Dates of death, therefore, do not provide the evidence that points to 1423 as the date of completion, so that it is necessary to search for some other factor common to most, if not all, of the shields that does. No such factor can be found. We are consequently driven to the conclusion that there is nothing in

the heraldry to suggest a definite date of completion and that therefore Griffin's statement is without foundation.

What of 1422 as the date of commencement? Griffin directs his argument to this year through his argument on the arms of the king's eldest son. He rightly points out that among the shields of royal arms there is none that bears the label of an eldest son, and he goes on to say that this "points to the fact that the king was Henry VI, whose only son was not born till 1453." True enough, but he disregards the fact that in 1422, when Henry V died, not only was the new king only nine months old but during the whole of the reign of Henry V up to December, 1421, when Henry VI was born, there was likewise no one entitled to bear the royal arms with the label of an eldest son.

To meet this serious difficulty it was incumbent upon Griffin to demonstrate why the porch could not have been finished by December, 1421, and the king thus been Henry V, but must have been begun after August, 1422. This, of course, he makes no attempt to do, and in fact it would be impossible to do it, so that his argument for 1422 as the date of commencement falls to the ground. "The conclusions to be drawn from the heraldry" do not, therefore, "correspond almost exactly" with 1422-3 as the date of construction. To determine this date other means besides heraldry are needed.

When we consider the next statement, that the heraldry "consists mainly of coats of arms of descendants of the Fair Maid", we are dealing with the essential theme of Griffin's paper. It is a daring statement, for if words mean anything "mainly" must be taken as meaning "most" or "majority". This implies that out of the twenty-nine shields in the porch it would not be unreasonable to expect that around twenty would represent members or descendants of the family of Holand, but on examination it is found that of the persons Griffin himself assigns to the shields only nine or their husbands occur among the Fair Maid's descendants, and it will be appreciated that by not questioning the accuracy of Griffin's attributions his case is being put in its most favourable light.

The nine shields attributed by Griffin to descendants of the Fair Maid are as follows:—

The Earls of Kent

Joan, Baroness Wake, the Fair Maid herself

Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence

Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March

John Beaufort, 1st Earl of Somerset

Thomas Montagu, 4th Earl of Salisbury

John de Vere, 3rd [*sic*, but should be 12th] Earl of Oxford

James Tuchet, 5th Lord Audley

Thomas Courtenay, 5th Earl of Devon.

Bearing in mind Griffin's statement that the porch "must have been finished about 1423", it should be noted that (1) John, Earl of Oxford, was at that time only fifteen years old; (2) James Tuchet, Lord Audley, did not marry Eleanor, illegitimate daughter of Edmund Holand, 4th Earl of Kent, until 1430; (3) Thomas



Courtenay was only eight when he succeeded his father as Earl of Devon in June, 1422, and did not marry Margaret, daughter of John, Earl of Somerset (above), until after, and probably well after, 1421.

Nine coats out of twenty-nine for descendants of the Fair Maid, far from being a majority, is less than a third and even this proportion could be reduced, as will have been seen, if we confined ourselves to 1423, the outside limit to the date of the porch set by Griffin himself. Moreover, the last Earl of Kent of the house of Holand died in 1408 leaving five sisters his heirs. One might therefore expect to find all their husbands represented, but they are not. The Duke of York and Sir John Nevill are missing. The case for descendants of the Fair Maid is thus given a rude shaking, for twenty shields, which was about the number we were entitled to believe might have represented descendants, are in fact found not to do so, and two highly important coats are missing.

There remains Griffin's third statement, that other coats (he elsewhere says "many" others and includes the Fair Maid herself) "are due to special connexion of the owners with Kent and the Cathedral". Of these he fails to show that more than three had any connection with the Cathedral, or that more than nine had any connection with the county, including one that he does not assign to any particular person, probably for the good reason that no one suitable of the name was available.

The coats of which the owners were connected with the Cathedral are:—

Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester  
Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury  
Christ Church, Canterbury

and the nine coats of families connected with Kent, which exclude those of descendants of the Fair Maid that had a Kentish connection, are attributed by Griffin to the following:—

St. Leger  
Gilbert de Umfraville  
Reynold de Cobham of Sterborough  
John Grey, 5th Lord Grey of Codnor  
Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester  
William, Lord Roos  
Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Stafford  
John de Cobham, Lord Cobham  
Sir Thomas Kyriel.

It is probably significant that Griffin failed to name anyone for the St. Leger coat, all that he was able to say being that the family held the manor of Ulcomb, the descent of which was obscure. Reynold de Cobham, although of Sterborough Castle in Lingfield, Surrey, was of Kentish origin and held several manors in the county, but his arms are here, according to Griffin, because Eleanor de Cobham married Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (above), though Eleanor was Reynold's daughter and the marriage did not take place until 1428.

Having at this stage accounted for twenty-one of the shields in the porch, there remain eight whose owners were neither descended from the Fair Maid nor connected with Kent, roughly one quarter of the total. Some explanation of the presence of these extraneous coats is surely required, for no theory can be accepted that depends for its success on the exclusion of over a quarter of the evidence upon which it should be based. It is only too apparent that Griffin thought he saw a reason and purpose in the heraldry hitherto unnoticed, and to support his theory improved, by resorting to tricks, what appeared favourable to it and ignored the rest. His method is illustrated by his reference to one shield as being "in this position the arms of James, Lord Audley", when the position has no relevance. Then, again, he says, "Thomas Holand married Joan, daughter of Hugh, second earl of Stafford (No. 12) [Griffin's numbering] by a daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (No. 2)". But No. 2 he assigns to *Richard* Beauchamp and No. 12 to *Humphrey* Stafford. Further, he says that "Elizabeth [Holand] married Sir John Nevill (No. 17)", but he assigns the said No. 17 to "Ralph, lord Nevill of Raby and earl of Westmorland". By such means did he build his case.

Now it is surely clear that any attempt to reach the true message of the heraldry must begin with defining limits for the building of its setting. It is agreed by all the authorities, including Griffin, that the porch was probably finished before the south-west tower was begun in 1424 and it is certain that it is not mentioned among the works of Prior Chillenden, who died in 1411. Neither is it mentioned in an account of the activities of Prior Wodensburg, Chillenden's successor, up to Michaelmas, 1414. This early limit is supported by one heraldic shield that can be dated with certainty, that of Henry Chichele, who was Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-43. We thus have a working hypothesis of 1415-23, both inclusive.

It seems equally clear that the twenty-nine shields of arms are not likely to be a haphazard collection, but that they will have some central theme, some unifying thread, running through them. The families for all but three can be settled without difficulty, so that to find the central theme we may begin by examining the lives of members of those families that were living at this time. In doing so two things must be borne in mind. The people represented will not be of minor importance, or they would not be there and they must have made some mark by 1423 at the latest, since that is the date beyond which no detail will be valid as evidence.

The result of this inquiry is striking. Excluding Archbishop Chichele, Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester, and the arms of Christ Church, Canterbury, and also, for the moment, the other three shields previously mentioned, it is found that out of the twenty-three remaining coats the owners of no less than nine, and probably one other, fought at Agincourt and the owners of six others were in the French wars with Henry V. This makes a total of sixteen. What of the other three?

It is essential to remember that when Griffin wrote in 1921 the shields were not coloured, as they are now. Moreover, he was obsessed with the imagined significance of the family of Holand and the connection with the county of Kent, so that in the coat of two bars and in chief three roundels he thought he saw the family of Wake, whose barony had descended to the Fair Maid. The shield charged only with a fret had to be brought into his scheme of things and accordingly he assigned it to James, Lord Audley because of some appropriate significance he fancied he saw in its position, but despite that Lord Audley's name was not Audley but Tuchet and that his Holand marriage was too late. The third coat, a fret and a chief, he attributed to St. Leger, evidently on account of that family's prominence in Kent, but his apparent inability to name a bearer for their arms (there was no suitable person available) surprisingly did not lead him to question the attribution. In the result when the shields were eventually coloured these three were rendered as Wake, Audley and St. Leger.

The difficulties and anomalies inherent in these attributions strongly suggested under examination that the attributions were wrong and that bearers of the same charges, though of different tinctures, might be found, whose rank and careers presented features common to all three. In turn this common element might reasonably be expected to indicate the central theme of the porch's heraldry, which at this stage seemed to be Agincourt and the French wars. A search brought to light three most appropriate persons, two being lords and two Knights of the Garter, while all three had fought at Agincourt.

If the gold and gules of the Wake charges are taken as sable and silver the resulting arms are those of Hungerford, and Sir Walter Hungerford, K.G. (later Lord Hungerford) was pre-eminently distinguished in the French wars and fought at Agincourt. He was Steward of the Household to Henry V, Constable of Windsor Castle and one of the executors of the King's will.

If a silver fret on a sable field is substituted for the gold fret on a gules field of Audley the coat becomes that of Harington, and John, 4th Lord Harington, and his brother William, the 5th Lord, both fought in the French wars. John was allowed to return to England as sick ten days before Agincourt, but William, who had crossed to France in the Duke of Gloucester's train, was probably in the battle. John apparently died in France on service, but William fought on as Lord Harington in the sieges of Rouen, Melun and Meaux. It should be added that the coat here being considered is probably not intended for Willoughby, even though that family also bore a fret, an azure one on a gold field; and Robert Willoughby, 6th Lord Willoughby, was not only at Agincourt, but otherwise had a most distinguished career in the French wars. However, Robert's father, William, 5th Lord, who died in 1409, did not use the fret, but bore the arms of Ufford, quartering gules, a cross recercellée silver, for Willoughby, and Robert himself is

recorded as having borne the same arms, with the quarters reversed, at the siege of Rouen in 1418.

Lastly, it is necessary only to change the colour of the fret in the third coat from silver to gold to transform the arms from St. Leger to FitzHugh and to substitute for the unidentified holder of the manor of Ulcomb Sir Henry FitzHugh, K.G., 3rd Lord FitzHugh, Chamberlain to the King throughout the reign of Henry V and one of his executors. He accompanied Henry to France in 1415, as had John Lord Harington, and fought at Agincourt. He was also at the sieges of Rouen, Melun and Meaux.

The addition of the foregoing three coats raises the number of those whose owners served in the French wars to nineteen, of whom probably thirteen fought at Agincourt. This total is just about the number that one might reasonably have expected to find in support of the Fair Maid of Kent theory if there had been any substance in it.

The remaining seven shields were found to represent strong supporters of the House of Lancaster and relatives of Henry IV. Richard Lord Grey of Codnor was called the king's kinsman during the reign of Henry IV. He was King's Chamberlain and served with distinction against the Welsh rebels. John Earl of Somerset was half-brother of the King and Chamberlain and Constable of England. His widow, a sister of Edmund, 4th Earl of Kent, married in 1410 Thomas, Duke of Clarence. It should be noted that John's son and successor, Henry, 2nd Earl of Somerset, served with Henry V in France, being then aged about fourteen, and died in 1418. His brother and heir, John, 3rd Earl, likewise fought in France, but was a prisoner from 1421 to 1438. John, Duke of Bedford, was brother of Henry V, Guardian of the Kingdom of England during the King's absence in France, and he defeated the French Fleet off Harfleur in 1415.

Edmund, Earl of Stafford, newly created Constable of England, was slain at the King's side at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, in which year his son and heir, Humphrey, later a zealous Lancastrian, was only one year old. Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, whose wife was Henry IV's half-sister, played a prominent part in obtaining the abdication of Richard II and enthroning Henry, on whose behalf he was constantly negotiating or fighting. Later he was one of the Council of Regency for Henry V and one of his executors. John Lord Cobham of Kent was with Henry IV when he landed at Ravenspur in 1399.

Lastly, Edmund, 4th Earl of Kent, the King's kinsman and in his ward, or care, commanded with Thomas, the King's son, a fleet that ravaged Normandy and burnt thirty-six towns in 1405. He was Admiral of the Fleet to the West and North and one of the commissioners to treat with Brittany in 1407, and guardian of the truce in 1408, in which year he was slain in the attack on the Isle of Bréhart in Brittany.



There remain only the shields of the church and the two ecclesiastics. Henry Chichele, the Archbishop, was one of Henry V's most ardent supporters and spent many months with him in France, while Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, was half-brother of Henry IV, Chancellor of England under Henry V and that king's chief adviser.

In the final result, therefore, analysis shows that of twenty-eight shields (excluding that of the church) twenty-one represent persons identified with Henry V and the French wars, especially the battle of Agincourt, and seven are for persons closely allied or associated with Henry IV and the fortunes of the House of Lancaster, a proportion of three-quarters for Henry V and a quarter for his father and his house, with none left over.

The most appropriate persons for the shields would appear to be those as listed on page iii. It should be noted, however, that Michael de la Pole, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, and his sons, the third and fourth earls, all fought in France, so that the Suffolk shield could be doing duty for all three earls, though the third seems to be the most appropriate inasmuch as he was slain at Agincourt.

If it were necessary to rely on the heraldic evidence alone to date the building of the Chichele porch and to show that it was designed primarily to commemorate Henry V as a victorious military leader, it might well be thought enough to have established that three-quarters of the shields displayed could be attributed to persons that had taken part in his French campaigns. Fortunately, however, it is not necessary, for there is further evidence of date of a most unexpected kind. In 1414 one Thomas Marschall, a waxchandler, was admitted a freeman of Canterbury by redemption. He did not live long to enjoy his freedom, for he died in 1420, shortly before 26th July. By his will dated 23rd November, 1418, he directed that his body be buried in the cemetery of Christ Church, Canterbury, before the porch of the new work ("*ante porticum novi operis*"), to which new work he left 6s. 8d.

It has been shown that up to Michaelmas, 1414, there was no hint of a new porch, and it is now clear that one was in existence, apparently substantially finished, by November, 1418. Between these two dates there was surely only one event that could have occasioned a display of heraldry with the theme that it here appears to possess and that was the great battle of Agincourt, fought on 25th October, 1415.

And if the porch was thus commemorative why not also the entire south-west tower above it? Archbishop Chichele contributed towards it £475, a very large sum, but no reason has yet been advanced for building it, especially at that particular time. Henry IV was buried in the Cathedral but Henry V was not, and it seems highly appropriate, therefore, that following his death in August, 1422, in the prime of life, a tower should have been raised at Canterbury to the Glory of God and the honour of Lancaster in continuation of the scheme that had been begun in the porch. Henry Chichele was just the man so to have raised it.

# CANTERBURY—THE SUPERLATIVE CATHEDRAL

by D. Ingram Hill

There are some buildings so grandiose in conception and so overwhelming in realisation that to write or talk about them demands constant use of superlatives—and pre-eminent among these is the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. Seen from afar towering over the Stour Valley it is at once recognisable as a building, contact with which will provide all kinds of excitements and the sensitive and experienced visitor who comes to Canterbury for the first time will not be disappointed—especially if he is fortunate enough to be there on some great occasion or high festival of the Church's Year when the full ceremonial and musical resources of the Cathedral will be used for divine service in the most impressive setting imaginable.

Canterbury was fortunate in being served during the mediaeval period by a community of Benedictine monks frequently of exceptional calibre who were fully alive to the importance of their community as a great centre of pilgrimage, as the guardian of the Cathedral which was the seat of the Primate of All England and as a church and priory having special links with the royal house of England.

Endowed with large revenues from land and pilgrimage offerings, they were able to command the services of great architects and superb craftsmen at every stage of the mediaeval period with results that can still be enjoyed by vast multitudes of pilgrims and tourists at this present day.

By another fortunate turn of events when so many noble buildings were vanishing for ever from the face of the earth in the welter of destruction that followed the dissolution of the monasteries Canterbury Cathedral survived (unlike the Abbey of St. Augustine a few yards away) because Archbishop Cranmer desired to preserve the Cathedral in which his archiepiscopal throne was placed and to ensure that its reputation as a place of liturgical worship of outstanding character and as a centre of theological study was worthily maintained. As far back as the time of Alfred the Great a Saxon earldorman and his wife had donated the "Golden Gospels" to Christ Church, Canterbury "for the use of the community which daily raises praise to God in Christ Church", and thanks to Cranmer this age-long tradition of a community which exists to offer to God public worship day by day "as long as the Christian Faith endure" is still happily perpetuated. Instead of a community of some sixty Benedictine monks he established in 1541 a community of a Dean and twelve prebendaries or canons residentiary, twelve petty or minor canons, six preachers, twelve lay clerks and ten choristers with their master, fifty scholars and two masters, twelve bedesmen, two vergers and two sub sacristans, four bellringers and sundry minor officials—a larger establishment than was provided for any other of the cathedrals which were formerly cared for by Benedictine

monks—only Westminster Abbey coming anywhere near it (as a royal and collegiate church) in the size of the foundation.

It is astonishing to realise that today, some 430 years later, the Cathedral Church of Canterbury is still served by a small army of people on much the same scale as Cranmer's foundation of 1541. The twelve prebendaries and minor canons were reduced by half as a result of the reforms of early Victorian times and there are now only four canons residentiary and two or three minor canons. But this is atoned for by the presence of some thirty honorary canons who appear regularly on all state occasions along with the Six Preachers (a unique Canterbury institution) while the choir now consists of some thirty boys, at least ten lay clerks, with two organists and a master of the choristers. The King's School, still so vital a part of the life of the place, has vastly increased the number of its boys and masters, and there are many more vergers under the direction of the Senior Vesturer as well as the two porters and something like twelve bellringers today to augment Cranmer's four. The bedesmen in their black gowns adorned with Tudor roses still walk in carrying their white staves of office at the head of the procession on Sundays and special occasions—but there are seldom more than four now at any given time. With the vast crowds that pour into the Cathedral day by day it is now necessary to add to all these devoted servants of the Great Church a large company of chaplains and lay guides who perform the important office of caring for the (modern) pilgrims and tourists as the monastic community of the later Middle Ages was accustomed to do. Many cathedral foundations have a place for some important layman on their strength; the Seneschal at Canterbury was wont to live in a house near the Green Court Gate. Since the death of the distinguished architect Sir Charles Peers the office has been in abeyance but could be revived at any time.

That unique figure the Archdeacon of Canterbury, premier Archdeacon of England, is still numbered among the canons residentiary, going off from time to time from Canterbury to perform his traditional duty of enthroning the diocesan bishops of the Southern Province as the personal deputy of the Archbishop (a function normally carried out by the Dean in the cathedrals of the Northern Province), and going to the Cathedral pulpit every year on Ascension Day to preach, preceded by his own mace, the gift of Archbishop Sancroft in the late XVIIth century (Archdeacon of Canterbury from 1668 to 1670).

Canterbury is unusual if not unique in having a Vice-Dean who goes out of office every month at 12 noon on the 25th day of the month and is in fact the canon in residence. This dates from 1836, one of the canons having held this office permanently since Reformation times, down to that date. As is often the case with foundations of great antiquity and innate conservatism, many old customs have survived here, some of somewhat obscure origin. The gates of the Precincts are still locked nightly at 9 p.m. so that the whole area

which formed the old monastic enclosure becomes a city within the City during the hours of night. The night watchman still makes his rounds of the Precincts and the Cathedral nightly, and until a few years ago he was wont to call out the time and the weather at certain points, usually finishing with the encouraging words "And all's well". He still writes his report nightly (before going off duty) in a book, and the report usually ends with the traditional words.

Until a couple of years ago the curfew bell was rung just before nine from Bell Harry Tower, but this ancient custom seems to have fallen into disuse of late. Fifty years ago it was customary to chime three bells before service on weekdays and six on Sundays, following this up with the steady ringing of Bell Harry just before service began, but this custom of chiming fell into disuse before the Second World War and only Bell Harry now rings. The solemn tolling of a bell when someone connected with the Cathedral dies or on the day of the funeral continues, as does the good old custom of covering the coffin with an embroidered pall at funerals.

A singular Canterbury custom is that of entitling certain high feasts of the Church's Year as "*Dies precum extra ordinem*", known popularly as "*precum days*". These are Christmas Day, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, Easter Day, Candlemas Day, All Saints' Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday and the Queen's Accession, and on these days the Dean (or in his absence the Vice-Dean or senior canon present in quire) begins the service in place of the minor canon on duty. This may be a link with pre-Reformation practice when the Archbishop, if present, or the Prior in his absence, presided and intoned the versicles and collects at service on great festivals. (It was specially recorded that St. Thomas of Canterbury presided at Mattins on Christmas Day in 1170, chanting the Genealogy according to St. Matthew which forms the ninth lesson according to Benedictine custom—which may be the reason why less than a decade later the monks had the clerestory windows of the new Quire filled with figures of the patriarchs who form the Genealogical Tree of our Lord).

A curious custom which could also be seen at Westminster Abbey survived at Canterbury till recently: at the choral celebration of the Eucharist at the High Altar the clergy officiating would place their offering on a plate on the altar at the appropriate moment, genuflecting as they did so. This may be a survival from the days when the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in a pyx hanging over the High Altar in every church in the land, a custom which survived in France till recently and was in force in the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes in 1937 when I visited that famous place.

At Canterbury, canons in full quire habit on their way to service can still be seen crossing the green lawns of the Precincts from time to time, but no longer does the senior verger, as a rule, mace the Dean thus arrayed from his front door to the Treasury when he comes to the Cathedral, though the Archbishop still comes with



his own attendants fully vested from the Old Palace with his train-bearers on all great festivals and ordination days to be received at the west doors of the nave by the procession of the foundation and "sung up" to his place in nave or quire; and the Mayor and Corporation of the City still come in full ceremonial attire to the Cathedral with their sword and mace bearers on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Whitsunday and Remembrance Day for Morning Service, a custom which may go back as far as the late XIVth century, when they were wont to come yearly on Christmas Day to pray at the tomb of the ill-fated Simon of Sudbury, the Archbishop who built the West Gate and city walls as well as Holy Cross Church (before Wat Tyler's rebel hordes caught him in the Tower of London in 1381 and hacked his head off his shoulders).

Well worth reading are the reminiscences of Prebendary Gilbert, written just a century ago but largely concerned with recalling the Canterbury of his boyhood—he was at the King's School just before the Battle of Waterloo, and gives a fascinating picture of Cathedral life and characters 150 years or so ago. Perhaps he would not think things have changed so very much, for he noted some of the things that seemed to him singular about Canterbury and which still impress the visitor to this day—among others the custom of choir and clergy bowing to the Dean before and after service begins, as if to ask his permission to commence or retire. But cathedrals are not museums containing antique monuments or ossified ceremonies. They are living places run by imaginative people and as many things are in process of being discarded, other customs and habits take their place. In recent years a number of new customs have grown around the Christmas Festival—the blessing of the Crib in the Norman Crypt after Evensong on Christmas Eve, and the procession of the Archbishop from his Palace with an escort of choirboys armed with lanterns to address the citizens and give them his blessing in the Marlowe Theatre Car Park at the open air carol service; the lining up of Dean and Canons Residentiary on the steps before the great Screen to shake hands with the congregation after Evensong on Christmas Day; and the solemn procession of Archbishop, Cathedral choir and clergy and the whole congregation to the place of martyrdom after Evensong on December 29th, the anniversary of the murder of St. Thomas. The solemn singing of the Litany in procession round the east end on Ash Wednesday; the procession to renew baptismal vows at the Font in the Nave on Easter Even; the singing of motets in praise of Christ's Ascension by King's School boys on top of Bell Harry Tower early on the morning of Ascension Day; and the traditional commemoration of the Fallen at the Kent War Memorial Garden at the east end of the Precincts on the Monday in Cricket Week have become in the last few decades very much a part of the life of the place. Most significant of all, perhaps, is the ever popular daily ceremony of the striking of the bell and turning of the page of the Book of Remembrance in the South-West Transept at 11 a.m.—this last a ceremony believed to be unique to Canterbury. Add all these things to the

vast bulk of the Cathedral Church dedicated to no mere saint but our Lord and Saviour Himself—contemplate its great Romanesque Crypt, the earliest Gothic Quire in the land, the vast array of early Gothic glass which has no equal in England, the cloister vault brilliant with an unsurpassed array of coats of arms, the great soaring brick tower called Bell Harry so cunningly faced within and without with carved and fretted stone, the Marble Chair round which gather the representatives of the whole Church and nation at the enthronement of each Primate, and that remarkable survival from Tudor times, the Huguenot congregation still meeting in their Crypt Chapel each Sunday afternoon to sing the praises of God in the French tongue and according to Calvinistic rites as they have done for more than four centuries—and surely we have in Canterbury not only the most singular but also the most superlative of all the Cathedrals of Christendom.

# ‘THE QUEENLIEST TOWER IN CHRISTENDOM’

by Peter D. Marsh

Bell Harry tower was built under the direction of John Wastell between 1494 and 1497 as a replacement to the famous “Angel Tower”. Wastell, a Canterbury man, completed the Tower by decorating the Lantern with fine fan vaulting between 1503-1504 under Prior Thomas Goldstone (II). The experience gained at Canterbury in this interior work was developed by John Wastell in fan vaulting at King’s College Chapel, Cambridge and in the work to the Retro Choir at Peterborough, which is also attributed to him.

Bell Harry, 235 ft. 0 in. high, incorporating unique and massive corner buttresses, was constructed with a Caen limestone facing and the unusual feature of a thick red brick lining. It is said that 480,000 bricks were used in this lining.

This year, nearly 480 years after the building, sees the scaffolding to Bell Harry, such a familiar sight to the natives of Canterbury, come down after nine years of cladding some part or other of the Tower.

The last time that the Tower had been scaffolded was in 1906-08 when, after the discovery of cracks in the parapet, tie-rods were inserted in the walls linking non-ferrous anchors in each of the turrets. These ties have proved successful and no further movement was noted either in 1935 or during the current restoration work.

The recent repairs were commenced in 1963, after an inspection disclosed that the Tower, although structurally sound, was suffering from heavy weathering of the stone facing, which was endangering the roofs of the Nave, Quire and Transepts.

The new replacement stone used initially was Bath Box Ground which had a weight of about 129 lb. per cubic foot and a crushing resistance of approximately 107 tons per square foot. This sandstone had good weathering qualities when carefully selected and an added advantage of blending quickly with the existing weathered Caen limestone. However, by 1970, this supply of the Bath stone was becoming worked out and the quality was deteriorating rapidly, leaving effectively too little stone between sandy strata to be economical.

Meanwhile, the Dean and Chapter, realising that a new stone would be needed, had made various enquiries in Europe regarding the sources of suitable and adequate replacement stone. Eventually, after inspection of quarries near Poitiers, a contract of an initial 50 years’ duration was signed with Carrières et Scieries de France and arrangements were made for collecting and importing of Lepine stone.

This stone is a very even textured and consistent material obtainable in blocks as large as 3 cubic metres if required, and is in fact very much closer in its character to the original Caen than Bath stone. Initially the stone is rather startlingly light in colour, but a yellowing soon settles in and eventually it is confidently believed that a nearer match to the Caen will be obtained.

Before commencing the restoration a decision had to be made regarding the principles of stone replacement. Bearing in mind that the Tower is constructed of stone facing roughly 14-20 inches thick with a brick backing of more than 2 ft. 0 in., the stones marked as sub-standard, could either (a) have been cut back and new facings say 4-8 in. thick inserted or (b) the whole stone could have been cut out and replaced with new. It was initially decided, that with the former method, unless a completely true face to face joint could be made and this glued with a completely weather-resistant adhesive, there would be a good chance that water would enter the back of the new stone and thence penetrate to the core of the wall, leading to considerable and hidden deterioration. Therefore, it was decided to cut out the whole of the affected stone and renew it.

The method of working on the Tower was that during the summer, sizes of stones required were obtained and moulds cut. These stones were then ordered from the quarry and if possible these orders were sent by June, giving the firm supplying stone ample time to cut and dispatch the stones before October, when fixing on the Tower was stopped. From then on, during the winter until April of the following year, the stones were prepared in the workshop and stored in frost free sheds. In April, all masons and apprentices went out on the scaffolding cutting out and fixing the new stones. By this method, Mr. LeMar, the Head Mason, has avoided stones being removed and unfixed from year to year.

The new stones were bedded in a mortar mix comprising seven parts of stone dust, five parts hydrated lime and two parts of white cement. If, as in many instances, stones could not be bedded due to insufficient head room, they were slid into position on strips of lead, these being left in position and the joints pointed and grouted. In previous restorations pieces of slate have been used for this purpose but it has been found that this has caused defects after weathering.

A very brief programme of restoration work is set out below:—

- |          |      |   |
|----------|------|---|
| November | 1964 | Half the South face complete.   |
| October  | 1965 | Half the West face and S.W. buttress complete.  |
| October  | 1966 | Completion of South face except for carving and some work on East buttress.   |
| October  | 1967 | Completion of S.E. buttress and N.E. buttress. This was a different procedure as other masonry commitments had priority. The East face was left unworked. |



- |         |      |   |
|---------|------|---|
| October | 1968 | Work on the N.E. buttress and panels complete. The progress could have been better but for the delay in stone quarried and supplied.  |
| October | 1969 | All work on the East and half the North face was completed.   |
| October | 1970 | Due to the Becket Festival Year, work completed was confined to the S.E. corner below the main platform. Original "Angel Tower" stones found refixed. These were incorporated again. Norman bases also found used as ashlar (bottom bed used as face). Due to a large crack the whole buttress had to be shored up, taken down back to face of panels and rebuilt. Much more stone was used than anticipated. |
| October | 1971 | N.W. buttress and panels completed.   |
| October | 1972 | The remaining half of the West face including Quatrefoil areas, jambs and pilasters completed.  |

Approximately 600 affected stones have been measured and cut out. New stones have then been cut and fixed in position. Included in this, of course, is all the carving and fashioning of moulded stones. The weight of new stone handled is approximately 380 tons. To carry out this work a staff of, on average, five masons and four apprentices have been employed under the skilled supervision of Mr. Brian LeMar, our Head Mason.

# THE NEW MASON'S YARD

by Canon J. Robinson

The prime concern of all those who love the Cathedral is the maintenance of the fabric. This does not mean that buildings are more important than people, or that any tension need arise between love for the building and interest in the activities which are carried on in and around the building. It is simply a recognition of the obvious fact that if there were no building then there could be no community and no activities associated with it. Not that there is any real need to tell this to the Friends. They have always recognised the importance of the maintenance of the fabric and done a great deal to ensure it. Funds supplied by the Friends have paid for several projects, notably the restoration of the Bell Harry tower.

Of course, restoration of a building as large, complex and beautiful as Canterbury Cathedral can never be complete. Always something more remains to be done. While some part is being restored or replaced, some other part is ageing to that point where restoration becomes urgent and if decay is extensive, then, even with some restoration going on, the work can be falling behind and the need getting greater. With this in mind and with the end of the Bell Harry restoration in sight, the Dean and Chapter considered the next stage in restoration. As far as can be seen, the Cathedral fabric is safe. There seems to be no danger that it is likely to present the kind of problems that York Minster has done, but the outside stonework of the Cathedral is in a bad state of repair and if allowed to go on deteriorating will present great problems in the future. There is much decay. Crumbling masonry is visible to the naked eye in very many places, and there is an obvious need for a great deal of repair work. The Cathedral Surveyor estimates that with the present work force of stonemasons, there is at least seventy years' work waiting to be done.

Doing the work is dependent upon several factors. Finance is one, since clearly no work can be put in hand until there are funds available to pay for it. Another, just as important, is the availability of craftsmen with the skills to carry out the work. There always have been such craftsmen in the past. Without their work the Cathedral would not be here now. But in Britain today craftsmen are getting fewer, and many of the traditional skills are in danger of dying out. The mass-production techniques of modern industry have taken over many of the traditional tasks of the craftsmen. It seems, therefore, that the Cathedral cannot expect to find a body of skilled craftsmen in the future unless it takes active steps to encourage them, and this means in practice, the training of apprentices.

Such training carries with it several implications. Apprentices can only be trained in the right conditions, with proper facilities and access to the right tools. The arrangements that have served in the past as a Mason's Yard in the Precincts were not the best. They were

only set up originally as a temporary measure while the Bell Harry tower was repaired. The cathedral lawn at the foot of the tower ought not to become a permanent yard, quite apart from the fact that it could never be fully equipped to serve the purpose. There is not in the Precincts the space for modern power tools which means that, quite apart from the question of apprentices, the level of productivity is low and labour costs correspondingly high. A further problem is that stone is being delivered in increasingly large vehicles which can only with care and difficulty be got through the Christchurch Gate into the Precincts, and the City authorities are increasingly anxious to restrict the movement of vehicles along Burgate and around the area of the Christchurch Gate.

The answer to all these problems has seemed to be the setting up of a new Mason's Yard outside the Precincts. The Dean and Chapter have purchased a site at Broad Oak, about a mile and a half from the Cathedral, which was formerly used as a brick factory, and are engaged in converting it into a Mason's Yard. There will be plenty of space there for delivery, storage and working of stone. There will be all the room needed for modern tools. With these conditions apprentices can be given a proper training and productivity should be increased. Once the yard is fully operational the Cathedral should have a continuing labour force of stone masons who will be able to ensure the maintenance of the fabric for as far ahead as we can see. Indeed, they should be able to do more. Their skills will be available for restoration work on churches throughout the diocese and beyond.

All this cannot be done without cost. The Dean and Chapter are finding the money to pay for the yard because of their conviction that it will be essential in the future for the continuing upkeep of the Cathedral. Some financial help has been given by friends who are interested in the project, but still more is needed.

# THE CHORISTERS

by Allan Wicks

In his famous book, *English Cathedral Music*, E. H. Fellowes wrote: "as regards the boys it can be said without hesitation that the tone and quality of English choristers as trained by English choirmasters cannot be matched elsewhere in the world . . . Nor is the musical skill of the choristers to be overlooked".

How are these brave words to be matched by deeds in the new arrangements for the choristers at Canterbury?

The first point is that Canterbury is not making an experiment, but is conforming to the pattern of most establishments where the choristers are in a boarding school. For example, Winchester, under Dean Selwyn, founded the Pilgrims School forty years ago with the intention of providing something more satisfactory than a tiny school for choristers alone. Today the Pilgrims School has nearly 200 boys of whom 24 are Cathedral Choristers.

For a Canterbury Chorister the changes will not be many but they will be significant. A chorister will sing for a minimum of three years instead of four terms (which latterly has tended to be a maximum figure) and so he will, at the end of his time, have an even more solid technical armoury at his disposal. He will have the old choir school, now called the choir house, as his home. He will share it with twenty-nine other choristers and this means more room for all the activities and hobbies he has time for. He will have the larger community at St. Edmund's with its wealth of interests, its ample playing fields, gymnasium, outdoor heated swimming pool, with all the implications of a bigger group to extend his interests and opportunities. For the rest, a Canterbury Chorister will not find much that is different. He will still be thought angelic by some and he will hate that image; he will still be thought by some to be the final example of sweated child labour and he will not know or care what that means; he will certainly not take the Dean and Chapter before the Industrial Relations Court.

He will still be careless but polite; thoughtless and clean; impudent and hardworking; a part of the tradition of Church music which is more ancient than the stones of the Cathedral in which he sings his music. On a Saturday in July he will sing to God and 500 people; on a Friday in December he will sing to God and ten people, and he will sing with all his ability on both occasions. To the listener it will seem easy, but behind those soaring phrases lies much hard and demanding work by any adult standards. A chorister is a professional musician and he is usually his own severest critic. At Canterbury every service is preceded by at least one 45 minute rehearsal, and in one week a chorister will rehearse for ten hours in addition to singing seven hours in actual service time, each service containing its quota of psalms (80 verses on the



fifteenth evening), responses, canticle and anthem. Apart from this every chorister learns one instrument and, from the end of his second year, two instruments.

The life of a chorister is dominated, naturally enough, by his music, but he also plays his full part in the life, work and games of a normal school. At St. Edmund's a chorister will have the same chance of excelling in all the activities of the school as a boy who does not sing in the choir. If he has to miss something because of the pressure of singing and instrumental practice, that something will be the few minutes' spare time between one duty and another. But spare time is not a commodity which a chorister rates very highly.

The choristers stay at school after term ends at Christmas, Easter and in the summer (though an old chorister returning to see how his successors are upholding the tradition will be astonished to learn how much more holiday they enjoy). During these periods there is no school work and while rehearsals may be more intense the whole feel of life is more relaxed. There are parties, outings, time for shopping, more games of informal cricket and football before the bell rings for rehearsal and service. A senior chorister walking in procession to his final service will not remember his early, probationer days, when the swift, complex routine was a bewildering and somewhat intimidating new world, but he will realise what a large part of his life he is leaving behind.

For parents a choristership for their boy will mean a minimum Bursary of £300 and an education which combines the typical prep school routine with a deep and constant intercourse with some of the richest language and most ineffable music in the English-speaking world.

For Canterbury Cathedral the new choir house means the continuation of a great English tradition, the daily offering of worship in speech and song, enshrined in the familiar, constantly refreshing architecture of the Prayer Book and of the Cathedral itself.

# PLUS ÇA CHANGE

## RECENT BOOKS

by M. St. John Parker

Even the loyalty that ties its Friends to Canterbury Cathedral is not likely to exclude all interest in the lesser establishments; certainly it is worth noting the appearance of *English Cathedrals in Colour* (Batsford, £2). This evidently supersedes *The Cathedrals of England*, by Batsford and Fry, an old faithful which was first published in 1934. Batsford and Fry were certainly shewing signs of age; and indeed the later editions had been revamped by Mr. Bryan Little, who now appears as sole author of the new publication. But it must be said that change has not in this case brought with it a very significant improvement. The much-vaunted colour is in fact confined to 24 full-page photographs, too many of which are distressingly reminiscent of the chocolate-box; the 80-odd monochrome illustrations are sometimes less informative, or at least less aptly chosen, than those in my 1960 Batsford and Fry; and there are various indications that the selection is not quite as fresh as the publishers would like us to think. Mr. Little's text, on the other hand, is decidedly up-to-date, and shews knowledge of recent discoveries and changes in a number of cathedrals. There is a useful introductory survey, and if the subsequent individual descriptions seem snippety, that is the usual fault of this type of work, and can hardly be put at Mr. Little's door. One might with more justification complain about the flatulence of his style, which regularly discovers crowning glories arising from stupendous achievements. But we go to such books as this for information rather than literary pleasure, and Mr. Little has at least maintained in this respect the standard of his predecessors. How many of us, by the way, stand in need of his advice to visit "under-rated" Rochester?

Another revision, this time a booklet by Canon Derek Ingram Hill: now called *Eastbridge Hospital and the Ancient Almshouses of Canterbury*, it first appeared in 1969, and has been substantially recast to provide in the first instance a fuller account of the history and buildings of the Eastbridge Hospital, chief among Canterbury's charities of this type, and recently much refurbished. The Hospital was of course intimately associated with the Cathedral during the pilgrimage period, and should still feature on the itinerary of any modern visitor. Canon Ingram Hill's contribution to the recording of its history will not count as the least among the works of his Mastership. He also deals with other institutions as before, and it is impressive to notice the continuity of the almshouse tradition in the city—restoration work goes on everywhere, and the Welfare Stste has not prevented expansion and even new foundations. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

That certainly could be taken as the lesson of three books of a quite different type, which have less to say about the Cathedral and the city of Canterbury, but which nonetheless could be of profound interest to Friends.

The first of these, *Cantuar* (Cassell, £4.20), is by Canon Edward Carpenter, Archdeacon of Westminster and an established historian of the Church. He has written a study of "The Archbishops in their Office"—his subtitle, and the wording is carefully chosen. Thus his method is sometimes biographical and chronological, and sometimes analytical and synthetic. The undertaking is enormous in scope, and he disarms criticism to some extent by disclaiming in advance a uniform spread of expertise. This makes it seem ungracious to fuss about such details as his persistent use of the anachronistic form *à* Becket, his placing of the exile of Bishop Atterbury of Rochester in the year 1724 when it should be 1723, his description of Newcastle as Prime Minister in 1768 (though Grafton is simultaneously described as "first minister"), or his reference to a French philosopher called, apparently, Auguste Compte. These small things hardly affect the validity of his enterprise, and if the balance in certain larger matters may also seem to be questionable, we probably still ought not to worry too much. (Some historians would want to attach far more importance than does Dr. Carpenter to the loss of the archiepiscopal estates in the sixteenth century; and the discussion of Henry VIII's intentions as he embarked on the episode that we now call the Reformation suggests a self-conscious awareness of nationalist and secularising ideas so precocious as to recall the famous recruiting slogan, "Men of the Middle Ages, On to the Hundred Years' War"!)

In fact, Dr. Carpenter makes no real pretence to have written an historically watertight account of the archiepiscopate since St. Augustine. Probably no-one could, nowadays. He works dutifully, but mercifully briefly, through those appalling Anglo-Saxons, wrestles rather inconclusively with the Middle Ages (too secular for comfort?), and then settles down with growing relish to give an account of the Anglican archbishops. The seventeenth century is sensitively treated, and the eighteenth century is handled with suitable tolerance and a just tribute to its equanimity. It is with the nineteenth century, however, that Canon Carpenter warms to his work with real enthusiasm. This is in the end a book about the modern archiepiscopate, and as such it is more than a polite and elegantly-produced work of reference. Its later part is peopled by well-rounded figures, the brushwork of whose portraits is none the less effective for being discreetly understated. Everyone will find his or her own—perhaps not "hero", exactly, but whatever word best describes an admired ecclesiastic. More important (and here the birds begin coming home to roost) he paints the Archbishops as heads of the Church—in their office, in fact. "For good or ill, the Primate of All England is a representative figure. What he is, many assume the Church to be." Doubtless some will disagree, or deplore.

But the theme has weight, particularly when applied to the last 150 years. The nineteenth century emerges as a period of immense significance for the Church of England, both in detail (the comparison of Tait with Benson) and more generally. Dr. Carpenter writes discreetly, with no desire to force a conclusion. But his account of the evolution of the Archbishop's office, its functioning in modern times, and its possible development in the future, combine to give this handsome volume a compelling interest. But how—*how*—can an Archdeacon of Westminster bring himself to use such a phrase as “built-in educational outreach”? And in all seriousness? That in itself tells us something—too much—about the Church of England today.

Ideas prompted by *Cantuar* develop fast when exposed to *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, edited by Anthony Symondson (S.P.C.K., £1.75). This is a collection of six lectures by eminent scholars, originally delivered under the auspices of the Victorian Society at the National Portrait Gallery in 1968. Not strictly speaking a “Canterbury” book, perhaps; but nonetheless relevant to problems facing the Church, and not least Canterbury, in the 1970's. A small instance: here is John Keble, writing on Prayer Book reform; his poem called *The Remnant* refers to angels who, “although departing in the face of reform, promised not to forsake those who remained faithful to the Prayer Book.

“We go, but faithful hearts will find us near,  
Who cling beside their Mother in her woes,  
Who love the rites that erst their fathers loved,  
Nor tire of David's hymn, and Jesus' prayer:  
Their quiet altars, whereso'er removed,  
Shall clear with incense sweet the unholy air;  
In persecution safe, in scorn approved,  
Angels, and He who rules them, will be there.”

It is apt that this should be quoted by Canon R. C. D. Jasper, himself a foremost architect of recent changes. More seriously, there is Prof. Owen Chadwick, perhaps the most eminent of Church historians at the present day: “of these two great facts upsetting the Churches (in the Victorian period), the intellectual and the social, such evidence as exists points on the whole to the social as the more important of the two”. Commonly held opinions at the time pointed in the other direction, as perhaps they still do; an example of wrong analysis producing mistaken policies?

It has to be admitted that this is an uneven collection. The best of the bunch are Prof. Chadwick, on *The Established Church Under Attack*, distinguished for its authority and lucid sobriety; Dr. Robert M. Young, trenchantly learned on *The Impact of Darwin on Conventional Thought*; and Prof. Geoffrey Best, wearing his erudition rather more lightly to question some accepted notions about *Evangelicalism and the Victorians*.



The book as a whole suffers from a certain lack of definition. Queen Victoria had a very long reign, and there was time for quite a lot of development to take place—even in the Church, a slow-moving body. Indeed, the last century saw movement in human affairs on a scale and at a speed unprecedented in history. In England, the centre of the storm, society and attitudes were transformed. Now, at a little distance of time, we are beginning to evaluate these changes. On the secular side, we have come to think that some of the deeds done by our ancestors (slums, slag-heaps) can be reversed; some of the choices they made (private capitalism, unlimited pursuit of technical change) should be discarded: perhaps it is time to look at the religious side as well?

Consider the judgment of J. B. Lightfoot, the great Cambridge theologian and Bishop of Durham, when he declared in the 1870's "as I read history, the morality of the coming generations of Englishmen is very largely dependent on the answers which they give to the questions at issue between us". The author who quotes him is Canon David Edwards, now at Westminster, but in origin at least a Canterbury figure. He was educated first at the King's School, and acknowledges the influence of the place in his preface to *Leaders of the Church of England, 1828-1944* (Oxford, £3.90), a study of 20 eminent Victorian and post-Victorian figures, arranged in a scheme of pairs to provide either complements or contrasts. Only five of his subjects were Archbishops, and some of the others (Matthew Arnold, Mandell Creighton) might at first seem strange choices. But Mr. Edwards uses his biographical method to trace the varying moods of a complex and comprehensive organisation over a long period of time, "a marked time" as Thomas Arnold called it. It was a period which saw the end of the Tudor compromise, that shrine in which had been embalmed so much of the mediaeval inheritance that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Anglican Church possessed some of the finest relics of the Middle Ages to be found in Europe. As these grisly remains came under scrutiny, again and again we find Newman, torn between past and future, in the thick of the debate, and Mr. Edwards points to the remarkable modern revival of interest in this tortured figure, both as example and as authority. More than a century after its first appearance, "*The Grammar of Assent* . . . was being expounded in order to show that some men's minds could be profoundly aware of the mystery of religion, and aware of the difficulties involved, and yet could hold Christianity as true".

This is by some distance the most substantial of the books reviewed here. It is not all easy, or all clear: the complex discussion of Newman's thought, or that which deals with the fluid perceptions of F. D. Maurice, do not make simple reading. But Mr. Edwards' style is often entertaining, and occasionally tart, and there are good things at every turn. The standard is not uniformly high: Mr. Gladstone is there, inevitably, but he is too big for Mr. Edwards, as he has been since (and including) John Morley: Queen Victoria

is given a dismissal both trite and unjust; and some of the pairings, for example that of Gladstone with Dean Stanley, seem arbitrary and relatively unhelpful. The latter, incidentally, once described as "illuminated and incomparable", could stand as an exemplar of all those people who have found their imaginations caught in thrall by the mysterious magic of the great cathedral at Canterbury. He became a canon in residence towards the end of November, 1851, and on December 29th of that year he went at five o'clock, the hour of Becket's murder, to the Martyrdom; there the past fell round him like a pall, and the echoing church was full of "history and ghosts". "Did you ever realise", he wrote later to a friend, "that it was in the dark—by twilight?" Under this spell he wrote his *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, of which the vividness still grips even if their scholarship has been superseded.

More important Canterbury figures—Tait, Benson, the Temples—have more to say, though, to the main theme. Mr. Edwards himself is to be found using that phrase, "the Victorian crisis of faith". He rejects the opinion of Lightfoot, quoted above, at least when defined narrowly, partly because the Victorian age was rooted in Christianity anyway. But the wider implications of the view that this period was one of choices which affect us today, receive a full treatment in the essay on the Temples and in the final Epilogue. The former actually approaches the dimensions of a general summary of the history of Anglicanism in this era, and provides opportunity for wide and profitable digressions among a variety of minor figures. The Epilogue is a critical view of the present. Like Dr. Carpenter Mr. Edwards has some cogent reflections to make on clerical personnel and above all on the leadership of the Church. The continuity of the Victorian pattern was broken when Bishop Bell was rejected for the highest office, and Mr. Edwards does not allow himself to regret the general trend, at least. "Refreshingly, some Englishmen in 1970 combined a belief in the essentials of Christianity with an impatience with the past; and the radicalism of such Christians healthily emphasised that, whatever might be the future of English religion, the dead and buried Victorian age would never revive." But Mr. Edwards himself is much too good an historian ever to be impatient with the past. Like Matthew Arnold, he believes "In the noble and great who are gone", and he sees the nineteenth-century past as a book that, so far from being closed, needs a great deal in the way of careful reading, if only so that we can see where it is in error. He ends with a quotation from another product of the King's School, Walter Pater, and the words may stand in conclusion here as well: in Christianity "there had been a permanent protest established in the world, a plea, a perpetual afterthought, which humanity would ever possess in reserve against any wholly mechanical and disheartening theory of itself and its conditions".

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FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

**BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS**

30th SEPTEMBER, 1973

# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND MOVEMENT OF FUNDS AND RESERVES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th SEPTEMBER, 1973

GENERAL FUND	Note	Year ended 30/9/73	Year ended 30/9/72
INCOME		£	£
Subscriptions ... ..		5,671	5,031
Donations and Legacies ... ..		3,906	1,580
Dividends and Interest on Investments ... ..		785	718
Interest on Bank Accounts ... ..		102	79
Box Office Commission ... ..		220	259
Exhibitions ... ..		—	69
Sundry ... ..		—	20
Rent (less Repairs) ... ..		(88)	62
Transfer re Subscriptions of Deceased Life Members ... ..		55	85
Surplus from 1973 Friends Days .. ..		56	(29)
Less: Notional Interest transferred to Cloister Bays Fund ... ..		10,707	7,874
		131	200
		<u>10,576</u>	<u>7,674</u>
EXPENSES			
Clerical Assistance ... ..		1,526	1,342
Office Overheads ... ..	1	1,847	1,743
Chronicle ... ..		471	651
Annual Report ... ..		294	331
Promotion and Publicity ... ..		8	239
		<u>4,146</u>	<u>4,306</u>
SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR .. ..		6,430	3,368
ACCUMULATED FUND AT START OF YEAR		14,111	18,354
		<u>20,541</u>	<u>21,722</u>
Less: Gifts to Cathedral ... ..	2	8,683	5,000
Cloister Bays Fund Deficits written off	4	—	1,378
		<u>8,683</u>	<u>6,378</u>
Adjustment to equate Investments to Market Value at end of year .. ..		1,371	1,233
		<u>10,054</u>	<u>7,611</u>
ACCUMULATED FUND AT END OF YEAR ...		<u>£10,487</u>	<u>£14,111</u>
LORD BENNET FUND			
Representing £683.33 Nominal 3½% War Loan			
Decrease in Market Value of Investment ...		(27)	—
Loss on Sale ... ..		—	(1)
Accumulated Fund at start of year ... ..		248	249
Accumulated Fund at end of year ... ..		<u>£221</u>	<u>£248</u>
LIFE MEMBERS' RESERVE			
Subscriptions from New Members ... ..	(17)	506	(23)
		4,756	4,235
Accumulated Reserve at start of year ... ..		<u>5,262</u>	<u>4,841</u>
Less: Transfer to General Fund re Deceased Members ... ..	(2)	55	(4)
Accumulated Reserve at end of year ... ..		<u>£5,207</u>	<u>£4,756</u>



# BALANCE SHEET, 30th SEPTEMBER, 1973

	Note	Year ended 30/9/73		Year ended 30/9/72	
		£	£	£	£
<b>FIXED ASSETS</b>					
Freehold Property, 50 St. Martin's Road, Canterbury ... ..			2,000		2,000
Investments at Market Value					
Equities ... ..		10,585		16,534	
Fixed Interest ... ..		1,283		1,176	
		<u>11,968</u>		<u>17,710</u>	
Office equipment at cost less depreciation ... 3			252		280
			<u>14,220</u>		<u>19,990</u>
<b>NET CURRENT ASSETS</b>					
Income Tax Recoverable ... ..		1,498		502	
Sundry Debtors and Prepayments ... ..		194		168	
Cash at Bank and in Hand ... ..		3,370		4,745	
		<u>5,052</u>		<u>5,415</u>	
Less: Creditors and Accrued Charges ... ..		366		2,959	
			<u>4,686</u>		<u>2,456</u>
<b>NET ASSETS</b>			<u>£18,906</u>		<u>£22,446</u>
<b>Representing ACCUMULATED FUNDS AND RESERVES per Income and Expenditure Accounts ...</b>					
<b>GENERAL FUND</b>			10,487		14,111
<b>LORD BENNET FUND</b>			221		248
<b>LIFE MEMBERS RESERVE</b>			5,207		4,756
			<u>15,915</u>		<u>19,115</u>
<b>EARMARKED FUNDS FOR—</b>					
MARGARET BABINGTON MEMORIAL		920		860	
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL					
UPKEEP ... ..		300		300	
CLOISTER BAYS ... .. 4		1,771		2,171	
			<u>2,991</u>		<u>3,331</u>
			<u>£18,906</u>		<u>£22,446</u>

In our opinion the foregoing Balance Sheet and annexed Income and Expenditure Account give a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral as at 30th September, 1973 and of the Surplus for the year ended on that date as disclosed by the records, information and explanations supplied to us.

31st October, 1973.  
Canterbury.

REEVES & NEYLAN,  
Chartered Accountants.

## NOTES TO THE GENERAL FUND

1. GENERAL FUND — OFFICE OVERHEAD	Year ended		Year ended
	30/9/73	30/9/72	30/9/72
EXPENSES	£	£	
Rates, Water and Insurance ... ..	201	160	
Light, Heat and Cleaning ... ..	197	163	
Printing and Stationery ..... ..	357	381	
Postage ... ..	304	161	
Telephone ... ..	54	52	
Office Repairs and Alterations ... ..	32	—	
Equipment: Repairs and Renewals ... ..	35	30	
Depreciation ... ..	28	31	
Travel ... ..	304	414	
Accountancy ... ..	200	200	
Miscellaneous ... ..	135	151	
	<u>£1,847</u>	<u>£1,743</u>	
2. GIFTS TO CATHEDRAL			
Glassworks ... ..	—	5,000	
General Fabric Maintenance ... ..	3,000	—	
Choir: Pianos ... ..	285	—	
Stonemasons Yard ... ..	5,398	—	
	<u>£8,683</u>	<u>£5,000</u>	

## NOTES TO THE BALANCE SHEET

3. OFFICE EQUIPMENT			
Cost less Depreciation at 30/9/72 ... ..	280	237	
Additions during year ... ..	—	74	
	<u>280</u>	<u>311</u>	
Less Depreciation at 10% ... ..	28	31	
	<u>£252</u>	<u>£280</u>	
4. CLOISTER BAYS FUND			
Income: Subscriptions and Donations ... ..	169	808	
Interest (Notional) ... ..	131	200	
	<u>300</u>	<u>1,008</u>	
Accumulated Fund at start of year ... ..	2,171	2,677	
	<u>2,471</u>	<u>3,685</u>	
Less: Payments for Repairs to Bays ... ..	700	2,892	
	<u>1,771</u>	<u>793</u>	
Deficits on Hooker, Jameson & Brett	—	1,378	
Bays written off ... ..	—	—	
Accumulated Fund at end of year ... ..	<u>£1,771</u>	<u>£2,171</u>	



**ANTERBURY CATHEDRAL**  
**CHRONICLE**  
**1974**



# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

*First Friend on the Roll :*  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

*President :*  
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, P.C., D.D.

*Patrons :*  
THE LORD CORNWALLIS, K.C.V.O., K.B.E., M.C.  
FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN,  
K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.  
THE LORD CLARK OF SALTWOOD, C.H., K.C.B., F.B.A.  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ROBERT MENZIES,  
K.T., P.C., C.H., Q.C., LL.M., M.H.R.

*Chairman of the Council :*  
THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY (The Very Reverend Ian White-Thomson)

*Honorary Treasurer :*  
C. H. WREN, ESQ.

*Steward :*  
JOHN NICHOLAS, ESQ.

## *Members of the Council :*

Sir Harry Batterbee, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.	The Honourable Charles Kitchener
J. B. Bickersteth, Esq., M.C., F.S.A.	Gerald Knight, Esq., C.B.E., D.MUS.
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Lieutenant-General Sir Richard	The Revd. Canon T. E. Prichard
Craddock, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O.	F. R. Rawes, Esq., M.B.E.
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Professor W. Hagenbuch	Allan Wicks, Esq., F.R.C.O.
The Rev. Canon D. Ingram Hill	Miss Gladys F. M. Wright

*Representative of Drama :* Dame Sybil Thorndike, C.H., D.MUS.



# THE CANTERBURY CHRONICLE 1974

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## EDITORIAL

The *Chronicle* reappears in 1974 after nearly 18 months lapse necessitated by the new arrangements alluded to by the Dean in his Review of the past year and first announced in the Annual Report of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral in April 1973. It is to be hoped that with its Supplement the *Chronicle* will continue to satisfy our readership while meeting the requirements of economy. Reactions from Friends to the new publication's format would of course be welcomed by the Friends' Office.

We have continued in this issue of the *Chronicle* with our policy of mixing items relating to the history of the Cathedral, and the present activities of its Friends, with articles of a slightly more general interest. In the first category, Canon Ingram Hill writes about the depredations of the iconoclasts in the seventeenth century, Mr. Allan Wieks of the Friends' Youth Day 1973 (a report which originally appeared in the magazine VOX 24), and the Cathedral Archivist, Miss Anne Oakley, contributes a description of the great fire in 1174, while Canon Robinson outlines the work currently being undertaken, with substantial help from the Friends, to save the ancient stained glass which is among the chief glories of Canterbury. Looking a little further afield, Canon Allchin summarises the relationship of the Franciscan Order with Canterbury — a relationship which is presently growing afresh in various ways. We welcome these contributions not least because they come from those close to the centre of the life of the Cathedral; they are, so to speak, the foundation communicating with its supporters.

In a slightly different vein, but one which we are convinced will be of interest to our readers, we reproduce, with permission, the catalogue of an exhibition of prints and drawings of the King's School, mounted as part of King's Week in 1972. This remarkable collection provides an invaluable record of the architectural evolution of the north side of the Precincts over the last two centuries, and even though it is impossible for us to reproduce the pictures described, we feel sure that this is a document which we are justified in reprinting as part of our recording function. We are most grateful to Mr. Paul Pollak, of the King's School, for making it available.

For wider general interest, there are three items relating to links which exist or have existed between the cathedral cities of Canterbury and Winchester. The contribution from Canon Bussby, Canon Librarian at Winchester, is most welcome as a gesture of friendship; the ancient connections of which he speaks are balanced by the modern subject of Mr. J. M. G. Blakiston's biographical memoir of G. H. Blore, a Winchester figure sprung from a Canterbury root and one who may well have been known to some older

Friends. Even those to whom George Blore is a completely new acquaintance will, we are sure, delight in this elegant evocation of yesterday — or perhaps it was the day before yesterday! We consider ourselves fortunate to have the opportunity of publishing this masterly little essay by Mr. Blakiston, who was until recently Librarian to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College. Mr. St. John Parker reviews two Canterbury/Winchester journeys.

Finally — but first in order — the Dean's Review of the work and activities of the Friends during the year April 1973 to 1974 represents part of the content of the former Annual Report, and speaks for itself.

## REVIEW APRIL 1973/74

For many Friends, particularly those living far from Canterbury, the Chronicle is now the only regular publication serving that special affection and interest which lies at the heart of membership of The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral and, for the most part, keeps individual Friends faithful in support throughout their lives.

I hope that in this and future annual Reviews something of the gratitude felt by the Dean and Chapter and the Friends' Office towards the Cathedral's Friends, wherever they may be, will come through what must necessarily be largely matter-of-fact reporting of events directly affecting the Friends during the past year.

The Summer of 1973 was unusually warm and sunny in Canterbury. Some 2 million visitor/pilgrims from all parts of the world were welcomed to the Cathedral and Precincts; attended Services, were taken on Guided Tours, enjoyed evening Concerts of high quality in the Nave and Chapter House. All of them happy to be able to share in that sense of history and continuity which is so vital a part of the life of the Mother Church.

On Friday 22nd June, Friends' Youth Day, the sun shone from a cloudless sky on more than 700 children from Schools with Corporate Membership who had come to take part, as actors and audience, in very lively, colourful and imaginative adaptations (devised by the Schools themselves) of sections of the York Cycle of Mystery Plays staged in different parts of the Cathedral and Precincts throughout the day. Not only the children but hundreds of normal visitors too were delighted and entertained by the performances, and we expect no less successful a day on 21st June next when music of all kinds will be offered by the young people.

Friends' Day, again in perfect weather, was on Saturday 23rd June. The Annual General Meeting in the Eastern Crypt was followed by the Dedication of another restored Bay in the Great Cloister; the gift of the Bickersteth family. At 3.15 p.m. Evensong was beautifully sung in the Quire, with Tea, again admirably catered for by the Friends' Catering Committee, in the Deanery Garden afterwards. The great Marquee and the Deanery Lawn presented a particularly gay and colourful scene last summer. Friends' Day ended with a fascinating concert in the Nave by The Potomac English Handbell Ringers from Washington D.C. and a recital by The Serbian Choir from Belgrade under its Director, Dr. Dimitrije Stefanovic. For those with time to visit it there was also an Exhibition in the Cathedral Library of "Canterbury in the 18th Century". This interesting Exhibition continued until 14th July, and was followed on 3rd August by another, in the Chapter House, of paintings by John Piper, John Ward and John

Doyle to raise funds for the preservation of the Cathedral's Ancient Stained Glass. This is a task of great and growing concern. There has been rapid deterioration in the condition of the 12th and 13th Century Glass in the Cathedral attributed mainly to increased atmospheric pollution in recent years. Some well-known panels have already been removed from Cathedral windows for safe-keeping, and the whole question of preservation is now the subject of close and detailed expert study.

As an initial contribution to Glass preservation costs the Friends provided £5,000 as early as May 1972 to help in establishing a new Glassworks in the Precincts which was opened in the Autumn of 1973.

A further £5,400 from Friends Funds went in July last year towards a new Masons Yard now in operation a mile or two along the Sturry Road outside Canterbury. These gifts, together with others in the past 12 months for Cloister Bay restoration, pianos for the Choir House, general fabric maintenance, and a special further gift of £5,000 by Lady Townend, again for the Glass, have raised the level of Friends' gifts to the Dean and Chapter over the last 18 months to a figure 3 times higher than for any previous similar period of time in the whole 46 years of the Friends existence.

Other happy aspects of Friends' affairs during the past year have been the important services performed by volunteer members of the Friends at the Information Desk in the South West Transept of the Nave where every day somebody is available to help visitors with their enquiries and where, on Sundays, the Friends also sell Guide Books and Postcards when the Cathedral Gift Shops are closed. The Catering Committee extended its activities, too, by providing coffee for the congregation in the Chapter House on the first Sunday of each month after the 6.30 p.m. Dean's Service.

On a sadder note, the Friends' Council has suffered both from death and retirement. Lady Neame died in August. Some remember her better as the celebrated contralto, Astra Desmond. In December last year Kenneth John Weaver the Friends' Treasurer for the past 4½ years died at his Canterbury home. Mr. Weaver will be sadly missed; a Memorial Service for him was held in the Quire on 18th January. Another death of special significance to many Friends was that of Herbert Shaw who was the Friends' link for so many years in South Africa. He died in Uitenhage, South Africa, on 25th August last.

The Council is the poorer too, through the retirement last year of Lt. Col. George Mount, and the forthcoming retirement both of Sir Adrian Boulton and J. Burgon Bickersteth. George Mount and Burgon Bickersteth have been Council Members since the



formation of the Friends, and Sir Adrian for almost as long. It is hoped that in view of the long and highly-valued services of all three they will shortly accept an invitation to become Vice-Presidents of the Friends.

Finally, record should be made of the fact that despite no overall net increase in Friends total numbers during the past year, there was, thanks to existing members thoughtfulness and generosity, a very satisfactory increase in the years Donation and Subscription income. The surplus of this regular income over necessary administrative expenditure to 30th September 1973 (the end of the Friends' Financial year) was £6,430; an improvement of between £2,000 and £3,000 on similar figures for recent accounting years.

It is, of course, the will and purpose of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, as a Charity, to make available to the Cathedral as much money as possible, subject only to maintaining the interests of member Friends on whom the Society's income depends. I am confident that as the years pass the Friends will continue to play that special role in the Cathedral's life seen so clearly by the founders in 1927. This, the 68th Chronicle, incorporating as it does some facets of the former Annual Report which ceased to be issued with the 46th Number in April 1973, marks a departure from earlier practice as far as Friends' publications are concerned. Much information formerly contained in the Annual Report will accompany this and future Chronicles in supplementary form. The Chronicle carries to its readers as always all those good things Canterbury Cathedral has to offer and my personal good wishes accompany it.

IAN H. WHITE THOMSON.

## A YOUTH DRAMA DAY IN A CATHEDRAL

For the Friends' "Youth Day" 1973, the schools which make up the bulk of "Friends Youth" were asked to produce one or more plays, of their own choice and adaptation, from the cycle of York Mystery Plays.

Any part of the Cathedral was a possible theatre though problems of acoustics limited some and difficulties of audience room limited others. Pilgrim and sight-seers were not excluded from the Cathedral; indeed, the actors were urged to accustom themselves to a continuously changing and mobile audience.

On June 22nd Canterbury Cathedral witnessed an astonishing outburst of imaginative ebullience and creative skill.

The productions were staged consecutively from mid-morning and were watched by large and enthusiastic audiences. They ranged from the hieratic and stunningly effective restraint of the Geoffrey Chaucer School's *Lucifer Cast from Heaven*, produced on the east steps of the Nave with a muscular economy which admirably underlined the savage text — to the atmospheric production by Ashford School of the *Adam and Eve* sequence, staged on the steps of the High Altar with a grave intensity which balanced with the balletic interpretation of the Garden of Eden.

In between these extremes the Lady Capel School, choosing the Water Tower Garden as a production site for *The Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, gave a fluid sequence of dance with a distinctive and very professional use of modern music; the Archbishop's School in the Cloister Garth produced a rugged version of the *Shepherds before Bethlehem* which was one of the most moving sessions of the day; Betteshanger Preparatory School mimed their sequence of *The Harrowing of Hell* to a modernistic tape sequence in what was probably the most vividly professional realisation of the day; and the Geoffrey Chaucer School in their second production, which included the dramatisation of two miracles, provided an hilarious romp, complete with tricycle, in the Nave.

It was clear that each school had used great imaginative thought and taken much care over details of production but an imponderable emerged which no one could have expected — the Cathedral became a joyous amphitheatre of unselfconscious religious outpouring. Reverence, for once, became speed, light, laughter and relaxation, and the whole gigantic space reverberated with young eager purity.

ALLAN WICKS.

# CANTERBURY AND WINCHESTER

GEORGE HENRY BLORE

1870 - 1960

When your editor asked me to write a piece for the *Chronicle* which should in some way link Canterbury with Winchester, two possible points of departure sprang instantly to my mind: the presence in the Fellows' Library at Winchester College of an important early manuscript of William of Canterbury's *Life of Thomas Becket* presented by our founder William of Wykeham; and the much-quoted observation of William Edyngton, Wykeham's predecessor in the see, that "Canterbury is the higher rack but Winchester is the better manger"—"rendering this the reason", so Fuller tells us, "of his refusal to be removed to Canterbury though chosen thereunto." But I soon rejected both these themes, reflecting with regard to the first that you know all about Becket already; and that any development of the second might lead to my proscription in two cathedral cities.

Some further thought and a little research proffered the names of Bishop Aelfsige of Winchester, who removed St. Swithun's head to Canterbury in the tenth century; Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, who died of the plague five days after election to the primacy in 1501; Thomas Stapleton, the great sixteenth-century Catholic divine, who was educated at the King's School and Winchester College; and Archbishop Howley, pelted by your citizens with cabbage stalks (and perhaps a dead cat) in 1832 for his reactionary views on parliamentary reform. It also emerged that both cathedrals had been occupied by cavalry in 1642. But for one reason or another none of these would do.

Then one day I was reminded by a stout mahogany box on my desk that the name of the first friend I made after my arrival as a "don" at Winchester College in September 1939 had strong Canterbury associations. The War was starting, younger members of the Winchester staff were leaving for the services and retired masters were being called back. One of these was George Henry Blore. The mahogany box was his. It contained slides of Canterbury supplied to him many years before by the firm of Charlton, Canterbury, photographers.

Born in 1870, Blore first became acquainted with your city in 1873, when his father George John was appointed Headmaster of the King's School; and Canterbury was to be his home or second home till the latter's death in 1916. In later years he often returned to visit his brother William Parry, Librarian to the Dean and Chapter, and I am informed that he owned a house in St. Stephen's Road which he let to other members of the family. But for most of his life his first home was Winchester. Winning an entrance scholarship to Wykeham's foundation in 1882, he was an exact contemporary in College of the great J. L. Myres and of the future *Times* critic and Shakespearian Harold Child, who remained his life-long friend; and two years junior to the

poet Lionel Johnson. From Winchester he duly passed to New College, Oxford, took "firsts" in Mods. and Greats and then, after brief spells at Malvern, Charterhouse and Radley, returned to teach at his old school from 1901 to 1930, serving as a house-master from 1906 to 1918. He remained a bachelor till the eve of his retirement, when one morning before breakfast he married a charming widow, "Mimi" Egerton, who eventually predeceased him.

It is not my purpose to enlarge on George Blore's career, though I shall return to it briefly at the end. The official part of it was over well before I first met him. But he was to live to the age of ninety, dying on 12 September 1960, and what I shall attempt to do is to record some of my personal memories of a very remarkable character during those last twentyone years.

The first thing that struck you about George—after his tall figure, his bald head and his high-pitched voice—was his insatiable appetite for knowledge. Until war conditions determined otherwise, the teaching day at Winchester still began at 7.30. George, who lived on the slopes of St. Giles' Hill above the city, had further to come to his work than any other member of the staff; but he would be among the earliest arrivals and, if you met him, you knew you would not get away with a sleepy "Good morning." "Have you read . . . ? Do you know . . . ? What do you think of . . . ?"—a string, torrent or fusillade of questions demanded your immediate attention and you were expected to be as interested at that early hour in the topics proposed as at any other time of the day. One of the reasons why we were drawn together was that, while I was fresh to Winchester and its puzzling ways, George himself found that much had changed since his retirement nine years before. We were therefore in a sense both "new boys" and could sometimes share a grumble. But it happened also that my interests were not unlike his, though my knowledge lagged far behind; and somehow I managed to survive the inquisition.

He told me later—I am glad I was unaware of it at the time—that his first criterion in assessing a new acquaintance was: "Has he anything to teach me?" The rigour of this test was attenuated by the circumstance that he was a compulsive talker. Almost before you could frame your answer (which it would be rash, however, to imagine he had not caught) he was away again. His conversational technique was to seize the initiative and to hold it. Lifting his old tweed hat fifty yards off, he would begin to speak; and as he came within earshot, you learnt that the subject was already Bishop Fox's tomb or a poem by Crabbe and adjusted yourself as best you might to the demands of the situation.

Matters of literary taste were often his theme. He was well read not only in the classics and in English literature but also, less expectedly, in the literature of France; and his phenomenal verbal memory enabled him to re-enact his literary experiences without resort to the book and gave a special immediacy to his observations. One of the comforts of his last months, when he had grown totally blind, was to repeat poetry to himself. "How



many poems do you know by heart?" he asked one day. He had just reached the one hundred and twenty mark—and this of course meant complete poems. The hundreds of lines of Shakespeare, Milton or Tennyson—to say nothing of Virgil—which he could summon up without effort were not included in the reckoning.

He had a special partiality for memoirs and letters; which was not unnatural, as the whole bias of his interests was towards the human individual, the details which revealed his quality or his oddity. "What sort of man was so-and-so?" was a question he was constantly asking, perhaps too readily dismissing as dry and pedantic the preoccupations of another type of mind with the abstract and the general. Almost all his published work (about which I shall say a word later) is of a biographical character.

George was no less interested in the visual arts, whether architecture, sculpture or painting. His *Notes on the Monuments of Winchester Cathedral* (1935, revised 1949), a standard work, give a good idea of his perceptiveness and range; while the subject also allows him to indulge his biographical bent. He was a regular reviewer of art books in the *Times Literary Supplement* and elsewhere, and faded cuttings of his articles—together with letters from like-minded people such as Katharine Esdaile or A. W. Clapham—are apt to drop out of the review copies which have found their way from his library to mine. But visual experience was not just a bookish matter, it was the stuff of his daily life. He would sit in Winchester Cathedral not where he could best hear the preacher but where he could best see the roof bosses. He would plan his walks—he was a tireless walker—so as to pause at a vantage point from which the Cathedral could be seen to be tall as well as long or where he knew the sun would slant through trees—trees were one of his great passions—at a particular angle at a particular season. I am sure that the view of Canterbury from the slopes below Beverley Farm shown in Plate ? was taken from one of George's pausing-points. It is just such a view as would have delighted him; the stacks, the hop-field, the Victorian terrace, the distant Cathedral, all embraced in one sweep of the eye.

His memory of things seen, as of words read, was uniquely retentive. He could tell you which picture followed which on the walls of all the great rooms in the National Gallery (or had done so in an earlier arrangement—he never went to London latterly); the fen churches of my native Lincolnshire were still fresh in his mind half-a-century after the bicycle tour on which he had originally made their acquaintance; the paths of Burgundy, Touraine and Poitou which he had trodden before I was born, covering huge distances on his long legs, had lost none of their dusty actuality. When it came to his own Canterbury, he could quote her stones like lines from *Hamlet* and expected them to be equally familiar to any educated man. Those long strides of his. It was arduous but exhilarating work trying to keep up with them.

To help fix impressions in his mind he had at his command a not inconsiderable gift for drawing, though he never rated it



very highly himself. It was no doubt inherited. His distinguished grandfather, Edward Blore, designer of Sir Walter Scott's house at Abbotsford and architect to King William IV and Queen Victoria, had in his early days illustrated the *History of Rutland*, a topographical work by his own father Thomas, and gave further proof of his skill in Britton's *English Cathedrals*. He died in 1879 at the age of ninety-two and was remembered and admired by his grandson. As an example of George's draughtsmanship we offer a sketch from a travel diary of 1903 written, with characteristic buoyancy, in French.

Thomas Blore, mentioned above, was a well-known eighteenth-century topographer and George's sense of place was, I think, consciously atavistic. It was a tradition in his form at Winchester never to divulge where you lived because George always knew your parish church and the surrounding district better than you did. So no one ever moved or spoke if he asked: "Any of you live near—?" "Wretched men—all live in China!" he used to protest, entering into the spirit of a game which he perfectly understood.

With all his knowledge, Blore was not a great scholar. He was both too impatient and too modest. His *Victorian Worthies* (1920), a collection of sixteen character-studies and his most ambitious publication, was written primarily for school use. Still eminently readable, it lays no claim to original research. *College in the Eighties* (1937) will always interest Wykehamists. The rest, for the most part privately printed, comprise short studies of various Winchester bishops and deans ("the fifty copies printed will more than suffice" he says in his Foreword to one of them), essays on *Some Wykehamists of the Eighteenth Century* (1944) and, in addition to the handbook on the Cathedral monuments already mentioned, a number of attractive contributions to the *Winchester Cathedral Record*, of which he was the first editor. There are also his reviews and articles in the London press, too ephemeral to be worth collecting, as he would certainly have agreed. One of his most satisfactory pieces of writing is the biographical introduction to his anthology *Poems and Fragments by Wykehamists of Five Centuries* (1938), with its easy handling of the English historical background. But it was certainly in his talk rather than in his books that Blore's powers were most effectively displayed. "I have learnt more about my subject this morning than from all my researches!" once exclaimed a visiting scholar whose work had been interrupted for an hour or two by George's unsolicited discourse.

What he was in part acknowledging was that George was a born teacher; born by virtue of his natural gifts, born also because he had learnt his guiding principles in the Headmaster's house where he was brought up. And George Blore senior, an early associate of Thring of Uppingham in the momentous meetings which developed into the Headmasters' Conference, was evidently one of the most remarkable Headmasters of the nineteenth century. Educated initially under Edward Wickham at Eagle House, Hammersmith, a school which trained a whole company

of future headmasters including Ridding of Winchester, passing from there to Charterhouse where in due time he was to be Second Master (and where G.H.B. himself was to teach from 1898 to 1900), spending five distinguished years as a don at Christ Church, George John took charge of Bromsgrove School in 1868 and by 1873 had set his special mark upon it. His great administrative measure there was no doubt to clear up the scandal of the "Blue Boys" and provide for twelve foundation scholars in their place; but for his pupils the most important feature of Blore's reign was its humanity. "Schoolmasters and boys are natural friends," he declared on his last Speech Day. "I have lived very much among the boys and known them individually." Mrs. Blore played her part in the drawing room and monitors regularly joined them on their family holidays. The reputation of the Blores for positively "angelic qualities" preceded them when the Doctor was appointed to follow the rather harsh John Mitchinson at the King's School, and Canterbury was not to be disappointed in its expectations. George Henry inherited in full measure George John's conception of schoolmastering as a civilising mission.

In his *College in the Eighties* Blore speaks of the "respect for great literature" and the awareness of the "continuity between past and present" instilled into him by the Winchester training. But it is from his father that he began to learn these lessons. The special advantages of King's School boys which the Headmaster stresses in his editorial to the first number of *The Cantuarian* (November 1882) had also been his to enjoy, and qualified him to appreciate similar amenities at Winchester. "They are planted beneath the shadow of the Cathedral . . . with half the history of their own country written upon the monuments amidst which every Sunday they worship." George happens to have been in his first term at Winchester at the time these words appeared in print and, when G.J.B. goes on to claim that the Canterbury school was in existence "well before Eton and Harrow", it was doubtless in consideration of the twelve-year-old College "man's" pride that he softens the boast by adding: "even before the princely munificence of William of Wykeham had devised his noble foundation, to be a model in after times to King and to Cardinal."

It is notoriously difficult to ascertain what a man's teaching was really like. Pupils look for idiosyncracies. Colleagues never hear him. George's career was over before I knew him, his return in 1939 being of short duration. By modern educational criteria there can be little doubt that he talked too much in the classroom, though I am assured by such of his old pupils as I have been able to consult that they would not for the world have missed those shrill, coherent and persuasive disquisitions. If, in addition to the literary and antiquarian love which he owed to the inspiration of his father, there is one feature of George's teaching which was peculiarly his own, I believe it is described in a quotation from Carlyle which he prefixes to his *Victorian Worthies*, a book, as I have already remarked, specifically

addressed to boys: "We have undertaken to discourse here for a little on Great Men, their manner of appearance in our world's business, how they shaped themselves in the world's history, what ideas men formed of them, what work they did; on Heroes, namely . . ." This was his strongest suit. Carried away by the theme of work, endeavour, achievement, he could still, in his old age, cast a spell upon the young and, as I can testify from experience, upon the not so young.

His services to the school continue. Every Wykehamist benefits from his noble legacy to the school libraries, quite the most handsome benefaction they have ever received. It provides for a substantial yearly expenditure upon the literary, historical and artistic causes which he had most at heart. The Blore Fund will be his lasting memorial.

It will not bring back his voice. Readers of Sydney Smith (a Wykehamist, incidentally) may recall a delightful fancy of his arising from a mid-winter visit to an unheated St. Paul's. "My sentences," he writes, "are frozen as they come out of my mouth, and are thawed in the course of the Summer, making strange noises and unexpected assertions in various parts of the Church." How thrilled George's friends would be if a little miracle might occasionally re-animate his accents down the aisles of Winchester Cathedral as he expounds its beauties and history to parties perpetually amazed by his knowledge, fluency and zest! If he never did the same at Canterbury—and I am not sure he didn't—it might still be possible to recover the tones of the lectures which accompanied those old glass slides in that mahogany box.

Yet we may be confident that he is not silent in Heaven and that the familiar questions are now being addressed to a higher tribunal: "What do you think of William of Wykeham? of William of Sens? of Bishop Morley? of Archbishop Chichele? how do you date the glass in the Trinity Chapel? do you prefer Collins to Gray? French Gothic to English? Titian to Veronese? What do you make of Becket?" Confident too that the Almighty is not allowed much more time than we were to supply the answers.

J. M. G. BLAKISTON.

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I am extremely grateful for much valuable help and advice supplied to me by the Rev. J. N. F. Earle, Mr. C. D. Gairdner, Mr. G. R. Hamilton, Mr. F. Higenbottom, the Rev. Canon D. Ingram Hill, the Rev. Canon Lancelot Mason, Mr. M. St. J. Parker, Mr. P. Pollak, and Mr. S. S. Sopwith.

## BECKET AND SWITHUN

The links between Canterbury and Winchester are numerous. There is the Pilgrims' Way linking the two cities. From time to time the Archbishop had had to guard the spiritualities of the See of Winchester or to hold a Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese. Then there have been, alas, less creditable occasions when a proud prelate has tried to rival Canterbury. And for long centuries it was said that while Canterbury may have enjoyed the high rack (i.e. rank), Winchester enjoyed the better manger.

Happily the connections are now very different. There is the more devotional link clouded possibly with some piety, which connects the most famous of the saints produced by Canterbury and Winchester: Becket and Swithun. Before Becket was martyred and became the English saint before all others, there was a short time when Swithun of Wessex was the centre of much devotion. He died in 862, was translated by Aethelwold in 971, and became the centre of miracles and devotion. His shrine lasted till the period of the Reformation and indeed his cult was strong in Stavanger in Norway where the Cathedral is still St. Swithun's Cathedral and people of Winchester and Stavanger were joined in the Liturgy as late as the sixteenth century: Plebs Wintonie, Gens Stavangrie.

Aethelwold was succeeded as bishop by Alphege in 985. In 1006 Alphege was preferred to Canterbury, meeting a martyr's death a few years later. If we may accept William of Malmesbury Alphege was anxious to take with him from Winchester to Canterbury some worthy object of devotion. He therefore took St. Swithun's head as a relic to be venerated.

After the martyrdom of Becket the tide of devotion swept out from Canterbury so that devotion to Swithun was forgotten. Meanwhile Swithun continued to be venerated in Winchester. Round his shrine in the thirteenth century the floor was tiled and this tiled floor is possibly the most important floor of mediaeval tiling which still survives. The tiles are themselves the subject of a separate study. But among them are three exceptional tiles depicting Becket. They show the Archbishop in full pontificals, wearing over his chasuble the metropolitan pallium with its *patée fitchée* crosses. His left hand holds a crosier surmounted with a cross and his right hand is raised in blessing. He is wearing his mitre. The tiles are 9 inches x 9.25 inches and are 1.2 inches thick.

Thus while the early cult of Swithun spread from Winchester to Canterbury, the later cult of Becket returned from Canterbury to Winchester.

An interesting sidelight on the strength of the devotion to the two saints can be gathered from the number of dedications of churches in their honour. As we should expect Becket has more dedications than any other English saint. For example Arnold Forster gives 78 dedications to Becket. At the same time 59 dedications to Swithun are recorded.

F. BUSSBY.



## FROM WINCHESTER TO CANTERBURY

Certain days stick in the memory. I remember with special clarity a particular midsummer day in 1969, when I drove from Canterbury to Winchester with my family, to inspect the house we were to live in when I came to teach at the College. The weather was fine and hot, the car small and full. Our third child was then a mere fortnight old; he is leaning against my desk as I write now, balancing himself on one foot with studied four-year-old elegance, and would not thank me for reminding him how disagreeably obtrusive and demanding he was in that infinitely distant past. The road was long and inclined to wind in a picturesque manner. We arrived three hours later than we had intended, fortified only by the doubtful delights of individual pork pies bought in the unpromising environs of Haywards Heath. All was not serene.

But our reception transformed the mood of the expedition. The outgoing tenants of the house we had come to see were welcome personified. Despite the throes of removal which they were enduring with what we later came to realise was characteristic imperturbability, there was a glorious summer lunch waiting for us in the cool dining-room. Kedgerree, raspberries (great heaps of them), cold drinks that bubbled slightly in frosty glasses. The pictures were down, the carpets were up, and the furniture was somewhere in between; but everything was under control, and the conversation was easy, discursive, allusive and lightly anecdotal, the perfection of a certain distinctive English style.

We measured some gigantic Georgian windows, and agreed that it would be quite impossible to curtain them; paced some mellow-planked floors, and agreed that they were quite uncarpetable; surveyed with equanimity the glorious stone flags of the hall, and agreed that it was quite unheatable; and eventually drove off through the summer dusk in a pleasantly relaxed and accepting frame of mind. There was shape and elegance to be found even in chaos, when Ronnie and Jay Hamilton were presiding.

Which is a rather roundabout but not, I think, entirely unsuitable way of introducing *Summer Pilgrimage* by the same Ronald Hamilton. This slight and (one has to say it) enormously expensive little book (published by P. & G. Wells Ltd., of College Street, Winchester: £1.30) is an account of a journey undertaken by the author in his retirement, with the dual intention of satisfying a long-felt pilgrim instinct and raising money by the sponsorship method for the Friends of Winchester Cathedral. His journey of 1972, and mine of 1969 could hardly have been more different, and I must confess to finding a certain fascination simply in the coincidental links and contrasts of our two epics.

Nothing could have been more unlike my vulgar caravan than



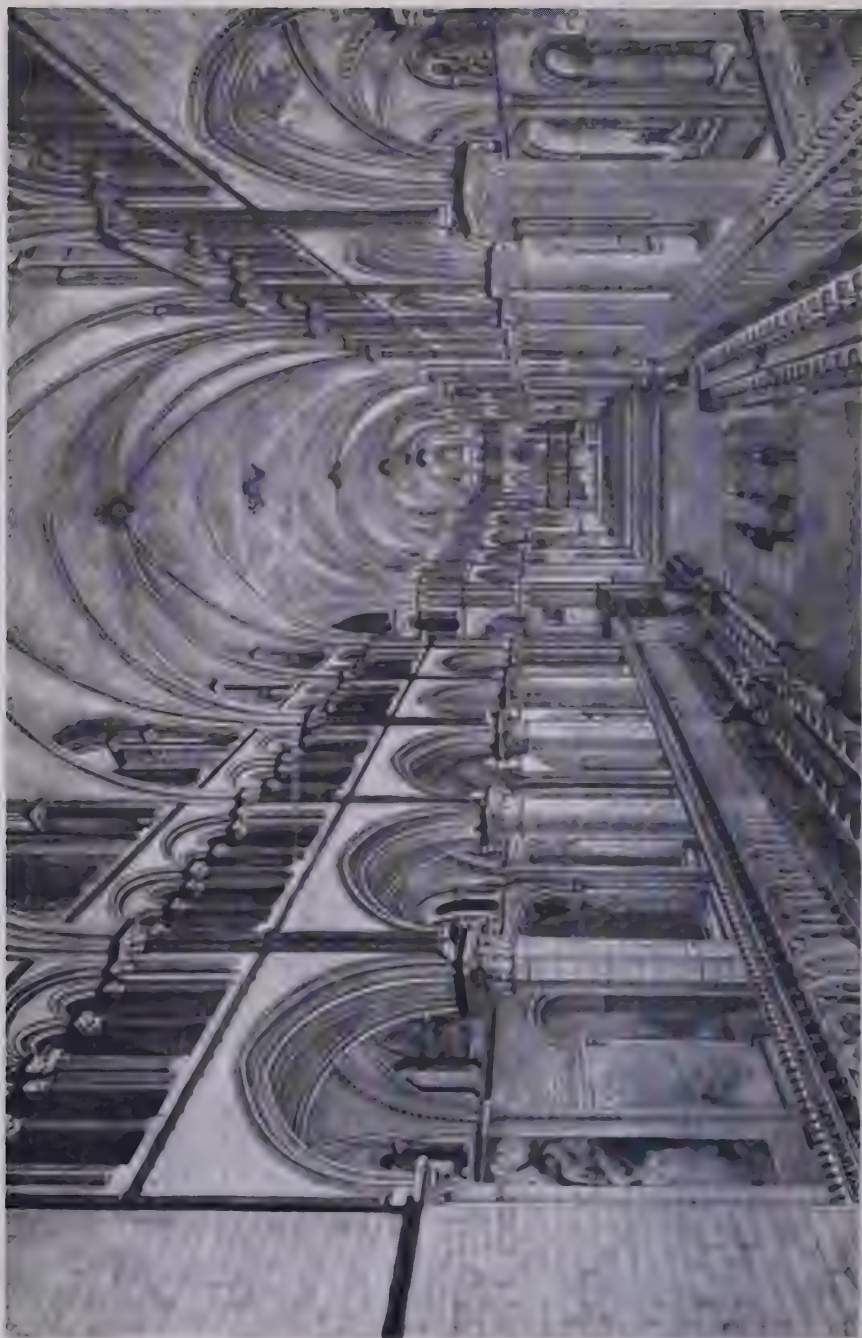


*View c.1900 — see page 11. The page 17 'sighting' is not dissimilar.*





Leafed from Blore's Travel Diary 1903 — see page 12.





the fastidious, even mannered style of his equipment. “. . . a small travelling library must be taken. This consists of :

1. *The Pilgrims Way*. C. J. Wright.
2. *The Book of Common Prayer*.
3. *Mowbray's Churchman's Calendar*.
4. *The Bible* (Luther's version) . . .
5. *The Canterbury Tales*, in Professor Coghill's version.
6. *The Observer's Book of British Wild Flowers*.
7. *A Holiday History of Britain*, which I wrote myself, because, when one is likely to be doing a bit of sightseeing, it's handy to have one's own history notes with one.”

Thus armed against every contingency with all the foresight of a former Staff Officer, the author set off on 16 July to walk along the Pilgrims' Way from Winchester to Canterbury, arriving at his destination ten days later on 26 July. As he paced the ancient route, sometimes through summer woodland or along drowsy lanes, sometimes amid the stinking swish and roar of heavy traffic, he observed, and meditated, and reacted, and remembered as accident prompted.

The result is this very personal, individual record, which must be of interest primarily to those who know the author, and recognise the well-remembered accents sounding through his polished, under-stating style. But others, too, will surely find things to please them. On churchmanship: “My style of churchmanship is what Rose Macaulay described in *They Were Defeated* as an ‘Anglicanism decorated with ornament’ . . . So much for practice. Doctrinally, I am afraid, I play it rather *à la carte* . . .”

On the drama: “The life and death of St. Thomas of Canterbury provide a magnificent story, as long as it's not messed about by Anouilh.”

On first sighting Canterbury Cathedral: “. . . at 3.15 p.m. I emerged from the trees into an area of hops and barley and, looking down a reentrant, saw the south west tower of Canterbury Cathedral due east of me. This was a moment of great excitement, curiously greater than I had expected.”

This is not a booklet of which one can reasonably say, “Every Friend of Canterbury Cathedral should possess a copy” — the Hamilton eyebrows would undoubtedly lift at such an exhortation, smacking as it would simultaneously of the enthusiastic and the insincere. But many would find it intriguing, amusing and in its moments of reflection occasionally provocative. More particularly, it records a practical exercise in the linking of two great cathedrals, a business to which a part of this issue of the *Chronicle* is devoted and which seems to your reviewer to be both an interesting and a worthwhile activity. Lastly, and not least, it is an unassuming account of a fund-raising effort for the Friends of Winchester Cathedral — something which might give those of Canterbury some food for thought, and even maybe an example to emulate.

M. ST. JOHN PARKER.



## FIRE, 1174

Eight hundred years ago at about nine o'clock on Thursday 5th September 1174 three small cottages in Burgate outside the old gateway of the Cathedral Church caught fire. There was a strong southerly gale blowing, and while the fire was being put out, sparks and cinders were whirled away in the wind onto the roof of the Cathedral quire opposite the gate. These wedged themselves in the joints of the lead and some were blown through onto the planks below. The planks were almost rotten, though they had lain there barely a century, and they burned easily inside the roof space between the leading above and the fine painted ceiling below. No-one noticed. Those putting out the fire in Burgate returned home oblivious of what was to come.

Gradually the leading on the roof melted and between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, flames were suddenly seen rising above the quire roof. Horrified monks and Canterbury people seized ladders and buckets of water, but it was too late. Fanned by the wind, the flames roared through the rest of the roof. Burning timbers and molten lead crashed down onto the monks' stalls below which immediately caught fire. Flames spread to other woodwork and were soon leaping to a height of twenty-five feet scorching and burning the walls, calcining the stone piers of Prior Conrad's great quire and rendering the building unsafe.

The monks on the roof were driven back by the intense heat. They could not save the building and decided instead to save themselves. Some rushed into the building to move precious relics to safety, and according to Gervase, a monk of Canterbury who witnessed the fire, some onlookers, inflamed with a wicked and diabolical avarice, followed them and stole what they could save for themselves.

Conrad's quire lay in ruins. The monks were forced to use the nave of the church for their offices, where in their distress it is said they howled rather than sang matins and vespers. Nearly six years they remained there whilst William of Sens and William the Englishman after him persuaded and guided them into the great rebuilding we see today. The new quire was consecrated at Easter 1180, a fitting memorial for so great a disaster.

(This account of the fire in 1174 is taken from Gervase of Canterbury's *Tractatus de Combustione et Reparatione Cantuariensis Ecclesie* which was written soon after the event. Gervase entered the monastery at Christ Church as a young man in about 1160. He was professed on 16 February 1163. From about 1193-1197 he held the office of Sacrist. It is not known when he wrote the account of the fire and rebuilding, but it is certainly preliminary to his chronicle. He died some time after 1210).

ANNE M. OAKLEY.

## FRANCISCANS IN CANTERBURY, 1224-1974

On the 10th September 1224, the first group of the followers of St. Francis of Assisi arrived in England, and landed at Dover. It was less than twenty years since the "little poor man of Assisi" had begun to gather disciples around him, and already his brethren, the first "friars", were spreading all over Europe, announcing afresh the Gospel of the kingdom of God. Francis himself was still alive. During the weeks in which the little party of friars was travelling to England, he himself had withdrawn into silence and solitude on the mountain of La Verna. There, on the 14th of September, four days after the landing at Dover, while lost in prayer to the crucified Christ, he received in his own body "the marks of the Lord Jesus," the wounds in his hands and feet and side, which he bore till the day of his death two years later.

Meanwhile, after passing their first night in England at Dover, the friars travelled on to Canterbury. They were welcomed by the monks of the Cathedral monastery, and after a little while found more permanent lodging at the Poor Priests' Hospital, still standing in Stour Street.

There they established the first Franciscan Friary in England, and a few years later erected their own conventional buildings on land given them behind the Hospital. Part of these buildings, the present "Greyfriars", still stands, a historic house built across the stream of the Stour, full of memories of the first Franciscan brethren.

Canterbury is now again a city with Franciscan friars. For some years a group of Roman Catholic Franciscans have been living and studying at St. Augustine's College, and this year their order has opened a Franciscan Study Centre at the University. At the same time Anglican Franciscans, brothers of the Society of St. Francis, have begun to be seen more frequently in the city. Before Christmas, Brother Michael S.S.F. the Minister Provincial, preached in the Cathedral. In September of this year, 1974, there will be a large ecumenical celebration of the 750th anniversary of the arrival of the first friars. On the 10th of September there will be the official inauguration of the new Study Centre; on Saturday 14th, an ecumenical youth service at midday in the Cathedral crypt; and on the afternoon of Sunday 15th, a big ecumenical service in the Cathedral, in the presence of the Archbishop. Other events will be announced later.

A. M. ALLCHIN.

## THE ICONOCLASTS IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

The fine exhibition entitled "The age of Charles I" at the Tate Gallery in mid winter 1972-3 included not only the famous bust of Orlando Gibbons by Nicholas Stone from our Cathedral Nave and a contemporary bust of Archbishop Laud, but also a picture of Thomas Johnson (painted in 1657 according to an inscription on it) bearing the legend "Canterbury Quire as in 1657 . . . ye prospecte from ye Clock House" which is of the deepest interest to all students of the history of our Cathedral Church because of the details which it shows of the Quire & Trinity Chapel little more than a century after the changes in religion brought about by the Reformation and the dissolution of the great Benedictine monastery of Christ Church.

This picture first came into prominence in December 1910 when a paper about it was read to the Society of Antiquaries by the well known architect Mr. W. D. Caroe who had recently bought the picture from a Mr. Haines of Norbiton. Though this paper, together with a photograph, was printed in the Society's proceedings for 1911 (Vol. LXII), the existence of the picture seems to have been overlooked by writers on the Cathedral in recent years and we must all be grateful to Mr. Alban Caroe (who inherited the picture from his father) for lending the picture to the Tate Gallery exhibition, and for allowing the reproduction of a photograph in this edition of the *Chronicle*, to which are appended these notes partly based on Mr. W. D. Caroe's impressions of some sixty years ago.

First the picture and its painter. It measures some 24 by 41 inches and is painted in oils over canvas. Thomas Johnson was a loyal member of the Painter-Stainers Company and significant as a topographical painter and draughtsman especially well known for his work in Canterbury (a copy of Dugdale's *Monasticon* in the Cathedral library dated 1655 has several superb engravings signed by him showing the outside of the Cathedral from the north-west and also the western facade, as well as a plan of the remains of St. Augustine's monastery at that time). This picture appears to be painted from the top of Prior Chillenden's pulpitum or great screen (where the organ console is now placed). It was known as the Clock House because a clock visible down the Nave was placed there in post-Reformation times and remained there (as old engravings of the Nave show) till 1762, when according to Gostling it was taken away and the present clock placed in the S.W. tower for the outside world to see and hear. The scene portrayed by Thomas Johnson shows a group of Puritan iconoclasts at work smashing windows and other furniture while a group of men seated at a table in the middle of the quire appear to be directing proceedings. At this time in history the Cathedral possessed neither dean nor canons and the place was run by the Six Preachers who

were notable Puritan or Independent divines who had been appointed to their posts by a Parliamentary Commission and also intruded into several of the livings in the City of Canterbury. They may possibly be seen here seated in conclave since the most active and celebrated of all the Canterbury iconoclasts, Richard Culmer, was himself a Six Preacher from 1644 to 1660, when they were all evicted on the restoration of Charles II and replaced by loyal and orthodox divines. One would like to know if Johnson actually records here events which he himself witnessed personally from this spot, or if he was in fact merely painting something which he had heard about and which had taken place some years before. Culmer's window breaking activities were publicised by the man himself as far back as 1643.

What is so impressive about the picture is the care and fidelity with which the details of the building and its fittings are recorded. In the clerestory can be seen the XIIth-century windows with their genealogical figures exposed to the depredations of various vandals, while one of these fanatics has set up a ladder in the quire against Prior Eastry's parclose screen which is being assaulted in its turn. A glance at the roof shows that the bosses in the high vault retain the painting around them which was only removed about 150 years ago, while traces of mural paintings can be seen on the north wall of the north ambulatory (where Cross's large picture of the murder of St. Thomas has been recently hung) and in other places. Very prominent is the double row of monastic stalls with round backs set up in Eastry's time (circa 1298) and only removed in 1704. These never seem to have had canopies as in other monastic churches; perhaps because of the height of the parclose, which is shown as having painted decoration on it including a greenish dado. In Tudor times a splendid set of tapestries was hung over the stalls and the hooks for these can still be seen in the picture though the tapestries themselves were sold by order of the Parliament and are now in the cathedral and archiepiscopal palace at Aix-en-Provence.

At the east end can be seen the monuments of Cardinal Coligny and Henry IV in the Trinity Chapel, but no pulpit, altar or lectern appears as these had no doubt been thrown down some years before with the archiepiscopal throne. What does appear is the small semi-circular platform (still there) on which the post-Reformation lectern now stands; and some pews in front of Chicheley's tomb which has a space between it and the tomb of Cardinal Bouchier later to be filled, in 1848, by the tomb of Archbishop Howley. Very prominent is the fine mediaeval iron grille at the top of the steps which separate the presbytery of the quire from the Trinity Chapel. This was only removed in 1748 when it was placed in its present positions at the west porch and south-west porch of the Cathedral nave. Another grille can be seen at the west end of the south ambulatory with a wooden cornice of Eastry's time on top (said by Mr. W. D. Caroe still to exist as part of the

wooden roof of the Watching Chamber of St. Anselm's Chapel. Just beyond this grille can be seen a little man attacking the middle of the three windows of the south ambulatory; with the tomb of a mediaeval prelate (prior or primate?) painted in below.

How thankful we must be that, at this time in the history of the Cathedral when so much of the mediaeval adornments and furnishings of the Quire still survived, so faithful a delineator of it all should have been moved to set down this attractive record of things as they were. No doubt if he were alive today Mr. Thomas Johnson would be an expert colour photographer and the highly paid illustrator of many coffee table books on Great Buildings of the Middle Ages.

Perhaps we ought also to be thankful that three centuries later the main architectural features of the building, and above all its stained glass, remain so little changed from the days when the Church of England seemed to have come to the end of its history; and the "reign of the Saints" to offer little hope for the maintenance either of such magnificent architectural treasures from the past or the great traditions of art, literature, and music which they had nourished. Thomas Johnson can hardly have dreamed that in 1657, as he signed and dated his painting, the Restoration of King and Church were only three years away!

D. INGRAM HILL.



## CONSERVATION & THE ANCIENT STAINED GLASS

Most of you will know by now from articles that have appeared in the public press that it has been brought to the attention of the Dean and Chapter that much of the oldest of the cathedral's stained glass is rapidly decaying. This glass is what remains of the figures illustrating the genealogy of Our Lord which were placed in the clerestory windows of the quire after the fire of 1174 A.D. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century this glass has been in the Great West Window and in the South window of the South-west transept. Examination of the glass shows that it is pitted with deep indentations on the outer side; many of which are covered with a deposit. The indentations have been caused by the work of acids which are deposited on the surface of the glass from the atmosphere and then activated whenever the surface of the glass is damp. The acids eat into the glass and gradually destroy it leaving only a deposit of sand. If this corrosion were to be allowed to go on unchecked, the time would come, and come in the not too distant future, when the windows would be completely destroyed. This would be a tragedy; not only for Canterbury but also for Europe and indeed the whole world since they are unique examples of the glass maker's art.

The corrosion was discovered by Dr. Madeline Caviness, an Art historian, when she carried out a detailed survey of the glass a few years ago. As a result of her report, the experts in mediaeval stained glass, who had planned to meet for their biennial conference in York in September 1972, spent a day in Canterbury to inspect the glass. The result of their inspection was to confirm all that Dr. Caviness had said. The Canterbury glass is not unique in its problems. Similar corrosion has been noted in early stained glass in many places in Europe, and this was one of the principal reasons for the meeting of the experts. Yet the experts were of one mind that the corrosion at Canterbury was as bad as, if not worse than, any that had been seen elsewhere.

As a result of these reports the Dean and Chapter have refurbished a workshop in the Precincts adjacent to the Works Department Yard as a centre for the restoration of the stained glass. The building has had to be modified and equipped for its new purpose. This has now been done with help from The Friends and the Pilgrim Trust, and the work of restoration will soon begin under the control and guidance of Mr. Frederick Cole who is a skilled and experienced designer and craftsman.

In the work of restoration all the windows to be treated will need to be removed from the cathedral. Three of them, including the famous "Adam delving", have already been removed into storage because of their fragility. Each of the small panes of glass which

go to make up a window will need to be carefully cleaned to remove all dirt and corrosive elements. This will be a long job which will require patient and attentive care. Even when the windows are clean the work will not be complete. If they were then simply to be replaced in their old positions, the corrosion would start all over again; slower at first but just as deadly, and some of the glass is now so thin that it would not survive much more corrosion. In future the glass will need to be maintained in a corrosion-free atmosphere. One way in which this could be done would be to put the glass into a museum. This would certainly preserve it; but as a museum exhibit rather than as a part of that glorious symphony of praise in stone and glass which it now is. It could be replaced in its present position, but in conditions which would have the effect of providing double glazing. This would protect the windows from the outside elements and ensure that they were kept dry, but then the great windows of the cathedral would be filled from the outside with large panes of glass which would reflect a great deal of light and might well look very ugly.

What this means is that the problem of how the windows are to be displayed in the future (in such a way as will ensure that they are seen as they were meant to be seen, and yet are in no danger of further attacks from corrosion), is a more difficult problem even than cleaning them. Happily no final decision about it need be made for some time, and in the meantime the experts may light upon a solution which is free from all the problems which currently loom so large.

JOSEPH ROBINSON.

# REPRODUCTION OF: CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS OF THE KING'S SCHOOL, CANTERBURY

*Canterbury, and especially its Cathedral and Precincts, attracted artists from at least the time of Hollar. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were the heyday of the topographical draughtsman, and the invention of lithography (besides the established methods of engraving and etching) enabled his work to be reproduced copiously and (at the time) cheaply.*

*We are thus able to aspire to form a more than usually interesting and complete pictorial record of a school over some 200 years. In this Exhibition are brought together most of the better or otherwise noteworthy prints and drawings so far acquired by or for the School, as well as others kindly lent by private owners. The loan of No. 29 we owe to the cooperation of the authorities of the Beaney Institute.*

1. NORMAN STAIRCASE WITH FRENCH PRISONERS  
Water-colour by Thomas Rowlandson, c. 1800  
*This drawing, once the property of Hugh Walpole, was given to the School by Mrs. Shirley in 1967. The scene is probably imaginary. There is no record of Napoleonic prisoners in the Precincts, and the buildings are considerably re-arranged.*
2. NORMAN STAIRCASE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST  
Water-colour by George Ayliffe Poole, c. 1845  
*A good impression of the dilapidated state of the East side of the Mint Yard before the building of the present School Library. The area was known as the Little Mint Yard. The drawing was given to the School by one of the artist's sons in 1936.*
3. THE STAIRCASE OF THE STRANGER'S HALL, CANTERBURY  
Lithograph by C. Hullmandel, 1823  
*The title of this lithograph employs the traditional name for the Norman Staircase, the latter being a Victorian "improvement". The area behind the present Dining Hall, to which the arch gave access, was used for stables, and we see oats being delivered there.  
Hullmandel was one of the best lithographers of this period, and he both drew and published much work of local interest.*
4. THE NEW KING'S SCHOOL  
Coloured lithograph by L. L. Razé, c. 1855  
*The building which is now the School Library was built in the years 1852-55 as a "school-room", i.e. as a classroom for the majority of the boys. The Headmaster of the time, George Wallace, experienced great difficulty in raising the necessary*

funds, and this may account for the slow rate of progress. The astonishingly successful design is the work of Harry Austin, O.K.S., Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter. (See also No. 29). L. L. Razé was drawing-master at the School from 1842 to 1865. He arrived in Canterbury in 1823, on his way from France to London. His overnight stop was prolonged for over 40 years, to our great gain, for we owe to him some of the most attractive drawings of the School.

5. THE NEW KING'S SCHOOL, THE GREEN COURT GATEWAY, AND THE UNIQUE NORMAN STAIRCASE  
Coloured lithograph after a drawing by L. L. Razé, c. 1855  
*This lithograph, unfortunately somewhat trimmed, shows that general decorum prevailed in those days. The doorway in the south-facing Undercroft Arch led to the porter's quarters; the Mint Yard Gate and Lodge were not then built. The bell, visible above the library, is probably the one cast for the School in 1562.*
6. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL FROM THE NORTH  
Water-colour by Ursula Macdonald, A.R.C.A., 1955  
*The drawing shows work on the foundations of the Shirley Hall. The area had previously been occupied by tennis courts and a rough play-ground. During this work was discovered the 10th century gold brooch now in the British Museum, known as The King's School Brooch. Mrs. Macdonald was on the staff of Milner Court for some years.*
7. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL FROM PALACE COURT  
Water-colour by H. Gastineau, c. 1825  
*We see the site of the Shirley Hall as it was in Gostling's day, "the (Archbishop's) court converted into gardens and a timber yard". In the background, the Norman North-West tower (Arundel steeple) has not yet been replaced by Austen's twin to the Oxford steeple.*
8. THE KING'S SCHOOL, FROM MR. GOSTLING'S CHAMBER WINDOW  
Water-colour by Francis Grose, 1777  
*A view of the building which was the King's School from 1573 to the expansion of 1865. We are looking southwards from the north side of the Mint Yard towards the Almonry Chapel (a 14th century structure much altered in Tudor times) which came to the School through the benefaction of Cardinal Pole. Its western end housed the Headmaster, the rest provided living quarters for boarders, and a school-room for the whole School. The Second Master had quarters on the west side of the Mint Yard. Access from the street was either by doubling back having entered the Green Court, or (till about 1815) through the Tudor gateway of which there are a few remains in the Gymnasium wall on the Northgate side (see No. 10). "Mr. Gostling" — William Gostling, O.K.S. — was a Minor Canon of the Cathedral and author of the delightful "A Walk*

in and about the City of Canterbury". Grose's drawing was only known from an engraving done for Gostling's book (2nd Edn. 1777), till it most fortunately came to light (in *South Africa* in 1937) and was acquired by Canon Shirley for the School. Grose was a prolific draughtsman; among other works he published the "*Antiquities of England and Wales*" of which Volume III deals with Kent.

9. KING'S SCHOOL, CANTERBURY

Water-colour by Francis Grose, 1767

*The subject is similar to No. 8. Grose married a Canterbury woman, so his visits to the City may have been fairly frequent. Notice the school bell (c.f. No. 5).*

10. NORTHGATE, CANTERBURY

Water-colour by Francis Grose, 1767

*This shows the western end of the Almonry building, as seen from the street. The Northgate, one of the City gates, was still in existence. It stood between St. Mary's Church (recently acquired by the School) and the City wall behind School House. The gateway into the Mint Yard is visible near it, on the right.*

11. THE OLD SCHOOL ROOM

Pencil, pen and wash by James Wallace, c. 1843

*This is the only known representation of the interior of the Almonry building. It was made by James Wallace when he was a boy at the School of which his cousin was Headmaster. Several descriptions of this room exist; a detailed one in "*The King's School 40 Years Ago*", *Cantuarian Vol. I* p. 501 (1886). The tops of the long desks in the right foreground may be seen in the Marlowe House Library.*

*James Wallace's name appears in the programme of speeches for 1845 (see No. 22A). He was not awarded any of the drawing prizes that year, however.*

12. THE FALLINGS IN THE GREEN COURT, CANTERBURY

Water-colour, probably by Francis Grose, 1777

*The Fallings is a variant of Forrens, the present-day term for the yard behind the buildings shown. The former monastic brewery and bakehouse, they were at this time partly used as a "water-house, wherein is a cistern, furnishing almost the whole precinct with excellent water" (Gostling). Remains of this cistern were removed when the Priory Classrooms were constructed in 1952. Lime trees were first planted in the Green Court in 1707.*

13. THE GREEN COURT WITH KING'S SCHOLARS' PROCESSION

Water-colour by William Burgess, 1857

*An impression of the Green Court during perhaps its best period. Mature trees, no cars, a stable social order — a fit place to fill Walter Pater's Emerald Uthwart with all kinds of "thoughts through the long summer-time, till the Green Court is fragrant with lime-blossom".*

*For details of the Scholars' Procession see No. 16.*



14. THE DARK ENTRY AND PRIOR SELLINGEGATE

Water-colour, Artist unknown, before 1850

*The room above the archway, seen semi-ruinous with bricked-up window and growth of ivy, is a key site in the rise of humanism in England. It was built by Prior William Sellenge in c. 1472 to serve as his private study and possibly to house the classical MSS which he had collected in Italy. Names famous in the revival of Greek learning are associated with it: Sellenge himself, Linacre, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Cardinal Pole.*

*The Dark Entry is, of course, the scene of "The King's Scholars' Story" in Barham's Ingoldsby Legends; whatever the historical status of Nell Cook, Mr. Birch is without much doubt John Birt, the Headmaster of Barham's day.*

*The congeries of buildings shown stretching westwards from Prior Sellingegate was pulled down in 1850. Minor Canons had inhabited them.*

15. THE LARDER GATE

Water-colour by Robert Nixon, 1794

*By the staircase shown here general access to the Cathedral from the North was obtained, over the ruins of the monastic "dorters" (sleeping quarters). Remains of it were removed in 1951 when the present Lardergate buildings, linked with The King's School Parramatta by ties of sentiment and finance, were built. They incorporate Prior Chillenden's late 14th-century arch.*

16. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL FROM THE GREEN COURT

Coloured lithograph by C. Hullmandel, 1823

*Mr. Birt's scholars, well below the statutory number of 50 and wearing new-fangled black gowns (the traditional colour was purple, but Birt had introduced Westminster black in compliment to Dean Andrews), are seen processing to one of the innumerable services.*

*The Scholars' Procession is a custom of some venerability, possibly going back to the Foundation of 1541. In the Rules and Orders made in 1665 for governing the School we find rule 19:*

*"That at the call of Bell Harry to prayers on Sund and Hol and their eves they be ready with their gowns and Surp: morn: and Ev: at ye Turnpike aforesaid thence to sett out towards Church with ye Mr. and Us: 2 by 2 uncover'd unless in foul weather with ye Mon: on each hand."*

*The Turnpike was the porter's barrier at the Green Court Gate, so the present assembly point in the Memorial Court conforms to tradition, though neither the Mr. nor the Us: sett out with them now.*

17. VIEW OF THE EAST END OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Coloured lithograph by T. Sidney Cooper, 1830

*This view of the Cathedral was and is a favourite with lovers of architecture. Its King's School interest lies, however, in the*

group of buildings barely visible beyond the large trees (The Oaks) on the left. Gostling says (coming towards us through the Norman arch) "when we have passed the cemetery gate, (there on the right) stands an old building, once the school but now fitted up for plumbers use." This school was chief among the establishments which merged with Henry's King's School. The plumbers was destroyed by bombs in 1942, the King's School having vacated it 370 years previously

18. ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL

Coloured lithograph (somewhat trimmed), by L. L. Razé, before 1840

*The subject is that of No. 17 at closer range. The two boys passing through the cemetery gate (which was moved in 1840 and now forms the entrance to the Kent War Memorial Garden) are dressed with academic correctness according to the Rules for Day Boys (see No. 20).*

19. ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL

Water-colour, Artist unknown, c. 1868

*The artist has included some of the rubble arising from the clearance operations instituted by Dean Alford in the 1860's. Much picturesque squalor went at this time: the Precincts probably gained, on balance, from this Dean's "furious energy". The two boys have not moved on very far. See also No. 21.*

20. KING'S SCHOOL, CANTERBURY. RULES FOR DAY BOYS

*See nos. 18 and 19. The Rules are an augmented reprint in 1885 of earlier compilations.*

21. CLEARING THE INFIRMARY ARCHES

Water-colour, Artist unknown, c. 1868

*Tudor infilling of the Infirmary ruins had provided a prebendary and sundry minor canons with residences. They degenerated into slums, and were removed by Dean Alford. See also No. 19.*

22. THE CHAPTER HOUSE DURING THE DELIVERY OF SPEECHES

Lithograph after a drawing by L. L. Razé, 1845

*"Speeches", in the shape of plays acted by boys at ends of term (or quarter, as they then were) possibly go back to Elizabethan times. They were certainly well-established in the 17th century, and are said to have aroused the Puritans into pulling down the building (on the site of Hodgson's Hall) "profaned by the King's Scholars having acted plays there". In more or less their present form Speeches date from Wallace's headmastership (1832-1859). This lithograph is well-known, and reproductions of it have appeared in several histories of English schools.*

22A. PROGRAMME OF SPEECHES, 1845

*See No. 22 and No. 11*

23. THE REV'D GEORGE WALLACE, M.A.

Lithograph by C. Baugniet, 1848

*Wallace's successor, a harder and more energetic man who became a bishop, did not regard him highly: but his own pupils had "all loved him". It is interesting to compare this portrait with the miniature one in No. 22.*

24. **CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-WEST**  
 Water-colour by James Malton, 1799  
*The King's School interest in this very fine drawing centres on the hairdresser's shop opposite the West Door of the Cathedral: Johnson, Hairdresser from London. One of Johnson's predecessors in this shop was John Abbott, whose son Charles became a King's scholar in 1772, Lord Chief Justice in 1818, and Baron Tenterden in 1827. The King's School, in this instance, amply fulfilled its duty to "the poor man's child apt to learning". The shop was pulled down in 1808. In the foreground, Dean Powys looks grimly at several dogs not under proper control. Three years later he regulated the King's Scholars' use of the Green Court.*
25. **KING'S SCHOOL VIEWS**  
 Coloured lithograph by John Ward, R.A., 1963  
*A limited edition commissioned by the O.K.S. Association.*
- 26 & 27 **THE MINT YARD, CANTERBURY, AND SCHOOL ROOM STEPS**  
 Etchings by Edward Burrow, 1900  
*Though these views possess some interest as records of buildings, they are included here for their strong period flavour. The time is, naturally, summer after noon. Neither War Memorial has yet been thought of.*
28. **MINT YARD GATE**  
 Punch cartoon by "Smilby", 1972  
*(It is hoped that through the generosity of the artist the original of this cartoon will find its way to Canterbury). The Mint Yard Gate dates from the reconstruction of the whole area in 1865 (see No. 29); but the wooden doors are ancient, and were originally hung in the Green Court Gate (Lattergate Arch). The boy's uniform dates from c. 1890.*
29. **NEW SCHOOL HOUSE**  
 Lithograph by W. A. Boone, 1865  
*The mediaeval Mint Yard was almost entirely re-modelled in 1865, and assumed its present form as part of the Precincts. The Almonry building was pulled down, and correctly gabled school architecture — the present School House and Galpin's — was erected to the designs of Mr. Austin (see No. 4). Galpin's was the part devoted to the Headmaster's private accommodation, an arrangement which persisted till Canon Shirley's advent in 1935. One may regret, while recognizing as inevitable, the departure of spaciousness from this corner of the School. The elegant schoolmaster in the drawing has not been identified: it is not Dr. Mitchinson himself, who was a remarkably short man. W. A. Boone succeeded Mr. Razé as drawing master in 1865: with this work he made a most impressive debut.*
30. **SPEECH DAY PARTY ON THE GREEN COURT**  
 Water-colour by Dennis Flanders, 1959  
*This is one of a series of drawings made for an account of the School printed in The Illustrated London News in July, 1960.*

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

A. M. ALLCHIN.—Canon Residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral.

J. M. G. BLAKISTON.—Until recently Librarian to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College.

F. BUSSBY.—Canon Librarian of Winchester Cathedral.

D. INGRAM HILL.—Master of Eastbridge Hospital and Rector of St. Alphege with St. Margaret and St. Peter, Canterbury; Honorary Canon of Canterbury Cathedral.

ANNE M. OAKLEY.—Archivist to the Dean and Chapter and to the City of Canterbury.

M. ST. JOHN PARKER.—Head of History, Winchester College; member of the Council of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.

JOSEPH ROBINSON.—Canon Residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral.

ALLAN WICKS.—Organist and Master of the Choristers of Canterbury Cathedral.

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As publishers, the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral wish to express sincerest thanks to each contributor to the 68th *Chronicle*.

The top photograph opposite is of a production by the Lady Capel School, Faversham, of *The Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* (York Mystery Plays), in the Water Tower Garden of the Cathedral.

The lower photograph is of the Archbishop's School, Canterbury, production in the Cloister Garth of the *Shepherds before Bethlehem*.







NOTICES

FRIENDS' EVENINGS 1975 --- 7th MAY and 18th SEPTEMBER.  
(see Steward's letter inside)

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CATHEDRAL LIBRARY EXHIBITIONS:

"The Changing Cathedral" -- (Pictures, prints, documents)  
9th June to 5th July.  
"Canterbury City Charters - 9th July to 26th July.  
Both exhibitions open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday/Saturday  
Admission: 10p. and 5p. (children)

----

CATHEDRAL APPEAL --- The proceeds of a gala performance of  
"The Canterbury Tales" at the  
Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, on 6th  
May at 7.30 p.m. are being donated to  
the Appeal. Tickets @ £1.50, £1.25, £1.  
include Programme and glass of wine.

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VOLUNTARY HELPERS -- The Friends Office would like to  
bring up-to-date its record of  
members living within easy reach of  
the Cathedral who might be available  
at short notice from time to time for  
occasional jobs of a general kind.  
More "Guides" could shortly be needed  
for the increasing number of parties  
wishing to visit the Glassworks.



# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Saturday  
June 29  
7.30 p.m.  
Nave

Ves  
per  
THE  
CAN

SUMMER ARTS 1974

Booking Form

nd me the following:--  
Tic

		<u>No.</u>		<u>Price</u>
Saturday .	Mus Ball Recital	....	at	50p each
July 21	ORG			
8.00 p.m.	ks Recital	....	at	50p each
Quire	Adr			
	Boys' Choir	....	at	50p each
Saturday	Cor			
July 27	and Day			
7.30 p.m.	Tisting	....		
Nave	nsong	....		
Wednesday	Coa	....	at	25p each
August 7	Br			
7.30 p.m.	di Vespers	....	at	£..... each
Quire	Ad			
	Mosaic	....	at	75p each
Wednesday	Re			
August 14	CHgh/Theophili	....	at	£..... each
7.30 p.m.	Adoral Concert	....	at	50p each
Quire				
Saturday	ReCourse Concert	....	at	50p each
August 24	Jc			
7.30 p.m.	(Tbraham Trio	....	at	80p each
Quire				
	Ac Trio	....	at	60p each
Saturday	Re			
August 31	Pther details of YOUTH DAY	.....		
7.30 p.m.	Al			
Quire	(I			
	A			

FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

**BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS**

30<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER, 1974



**INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND  
MOVEMENT OF FUNDS AND RESERVES FOR THE  
YEAR ENDED 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1974**

GENERAL FUND	Note	Year ended 30/9/74	Year ended 30/9/73
INCOME		£	£
Subscriptions ... ..		5,532	5,671
Donations and Legacies ... ..		1,500	3,906
Dividends and Interest on Investments		696	785
Interest on Bank Accounts ... ..		179	102
Box Office Commission ... ..		705	220
Rent ( <i>less</i> Repairs) ... ..		72	(88)
Transfer re Subscriptions of Deceased Life Members ... ..		20	55
Deficit from 1974 Friends Days ...		(131)	56
		<hr/> 8,573	<hr/> 10,707
<i>Less:</i> Notional Interest Transferred to Cloister Bays Fund ... ..		158	131
		<hr/> 8,415	<hr/> 10,576
EXPENSES			
Clerical Assistance ... ..		1,558	1,526
Office Overheads ... ..	1	2,020	1,847
Chronicle ... ..		} 716	471
Annual Report ... ..			294
Promotion and Publicity ... ..			8
		<hr/> 4,294	<hr/> 4,146
SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR ... ..		4,121	6,430
ACCUMULATED FUND AT START OF YEAR ... ..		10,487	14,111
		<hr/> 14,608	<hr/> 20,541
<i>Less:</i> Gifts to Cathedral... ..	2	5,100	8,683
Adjustment to equate Investments to Market Value at end of year		4,898	1,371
		<hr/> 9,998	<hr/> 10,054
ACCUMULATED FUND AT END OF YEAR ... ..		<hr/> <u>£4,610</u>	<hr/> <u>£10,487</u>
LORD BENNET FUND			
Representing £683.33 Nominal 3½% War Loan			
Decrease in Market Value of Investment		(60)	(27)
Accumulated Fund at start of year ...		221	248
		<hr/> £161	<hr/> £221
Accumulated Fund at end of year ...		<hr/> <u>£161</u>	<hr/> <u>£221</u>
LIFE MEMBERS' RESERVE			
Subscriptions from New Members ...	(4)	108	506
Accumulated Reserve at start of year ...		5,207	4,756
		<hr/> 5,315	<hr/> 5,262
<i>Less:</i> Transfer to General Fund re De- ceased Members ... ..	(1)	20	55
		<hr/> £5,295	<hr/> £5,207
Accumulated Reserve at end of year ...		<hr/> <u>£5,295</u>	<hr/> <u>£5,207</u>

# BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1974

	Note	Year ended 30/9/74 £	Year ended 30/9/73 £
<b>FIXED ASSETS</b>			
Freehold Property, 50 St. Martin's Road, Canterbury ... ..		2,000	2,000
Investments at Market Value:			
Equities ... ..		5,892	10,685
Fixed Interest ... ..		1,118	1,283
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		7,010	11,968
Office Equipment at cost, less de- preciation ... ..	3	496	252
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		9,506	14,220
<b>NET CURRENT ASSETS</b>			
Stock ... ..		233	—
Income Tax Recoverable... ..		1,300	1,488
Sundry Debtors and Prepayments ... ..		196	194
Cash at Bank and in Hand ... ..		3,673	3,370
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		5,402	5,052
Less: Creditors and Accrued Charges ... ..		1,426	366
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		3,976	4,686
<b>NET ASSETS</b> ... ..		<u>£13,482</u>	<u>£18,906</u>
<b>Representing: ACCUMULATED FUNDS AND RESERVES per In- come and Expenditure Accounts:—</b>			
GENERAL FUND... ..		4,610	10,487
LORD BENNET FUND ... ..		161	221
LIFE MEMBERS RESERVE ... ..		5,295	5,207
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		10,066	15,915
<b>EARMARKED FUNDS FOR</b>			
MARGARET BABINGTON MEMORIAL ... ..		987	920
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL UP- KEEP ... ..		300	300
CLOISTER BAYS ... ..	4	2,129	1,771
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		3,416	2,991
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		<u>£13,482</u>	<u>£18,906</u>

In our opinion the foregoing Balance Sheet and annexed Income and Expenditure Account give a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral as at 30th September, 1974, and of the Surplus for the year ended on that date as disclosed by the records, information and explanations supplied to us.

5th November, 1974.  
Canterbury.

REEVES & NEYLAN,  
Chartered Accountants.

## NOTES TO THE GENERAL FUND

	<i>Year ended</i> 30/9/74	<i>Year ended</i> 30/9/73
<b>1. GENERAL FUND—OFFICE OVER-HEAD EXPENSES</b>	<b>£</b>	<b>£</b>
Rates, Water and Insurance ...	189	201
Light, Heat and Cleaning ...	234	197
Printing and Stationery ...	419	357
Postage ...	313	304
Telephone ...	62	54
Office Repairs and Alterations ...	90	32
Equipment: Repairs and Renewals	75	35
Depreciation ...	55	28
Travel ...	298	304
Accountancy ...	175	200
Miscellaneous ...	110	135
	<u>£2,020</u>	<u>£1,847</u>
<b>2. GIFTS TO CATHEDRAL</b>		
Glassworks ...	4,600	—
General Fabric Maintenance ...	500	3,000
Choir: Pianos ...	—	285
Stonemasons' Yard ...	—	5,398
	<u>£5,100</u>	<u>£8,683</u>

## NOTES TO THE BALANCE SHEET

	<i>Year ended</i> 30/9/74	<i>Year ended</i> 30/9/73
<b>3. OFFICE EQUIPMENT</b>	<b>£</b>	<b>£</b>
Cost, <i>less</i> Depreciation at 30/9/73 ...	252	280
Additions during year ...	299	—
	551	280
<i>Less:</i> Depreciation at 10% ...	55	28
Cost, <i>less</i> Depreciation at 30/9/74 ...	<u>£496</u>	<u>£252</u>
<b>4. CLOISTER BAYS FUND</b>		
Income: Subscriptions & Donations	200	169
Interest (Notional) ...	158	131
	358	300
Accumulated Fund at start of year ...	1,771	2,171
	2,129	2,471
<i>Less:</i> Payments for Repairs to Bays	—	700
Accumulated Fund at end of year ...	<u>£2,129</u>	<u>£1,771</u>



**CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
CHRONICLE  
1975**



*The 101st Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, about to take the oath on the Canterbury Gospels at his Enthronement in the Cathedral on 24th January, 1975*



# THE CANTERBURY CHRONICLE 1975

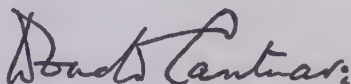
*Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral*

## A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE ARCHBISHOP

I know from experience in another Cathedral city what an immense help the Friends of a Cathedral can be. A glance at the *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* shows that this is certainly the case here.

I am glad to be your President. I look forward to meeting all the members of the Friends I can, and I know that in the critical days which lie ahead for our lovely Cathedral, the Friends will not be found wanting nor will their financial aid be lacking.

God bless you all.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Donald Cauter". The script is fluid and cursive, with a large initial 'D' and a long, sweeping underline.



# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

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*President:*  
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The Revd. Canon D. Ingram Hill, F.S.A.	Miss Gladys F. M. Wright

*Representative of Drama:* Dame Sybil Thorndike, C.H., D.Mus.

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## EDITORIAL

Individual Friends of Canterbury Cathedral have well understood the need for the number of publications to be reduced to one a year, a policy inaugurated in April, 1974. That policy continues this year with the *Chronicle* itself containing articles of current and historical interest concerning the Cathedral, and its Supplement information on forthcoming events this summer (with a Booking Form for completion and return as appropriate please) together with a list of members of whose deaths we have heard in the past twelve months.

We welcome six new contributors to the 1975 *Chronicle* and thank them and our other contributors most sincerely for the interesting material they have provided us with.

Thanks are also due to Mr. Derek Greaves, a Friend of the Cathedral, who for the past four years has brought his camera with him to Canterbury on Friends Days, and to whom we are indebted for the 1974 Friends Day photographs in this *Chronicle*. Colour film was used when taking the original photographs which has meant some loss in quality with black and white reproductions.

Mr. David Kemp in writing his article on the Nave Heraldry also asks that we should express his "grateful thanks to Cecil Humphery-Smith for his cheerful assistance and the generous use of his notes on the heraldry of the Cathedral compiled over many years of study."



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

FR. AGNELLUS ANDREW, O.F.M.—Well-known Franciscan and broadcaster.

FREDERICK COLE.—An eminent artist in stained glass, now in charge of the restoration of Canterbury Cathedral glass.

D. INGRAM HILL.—Master of Eastbridge Hospital and Rector of St. Alphege with St. Margaret and St. Peter, Canterbury; Honorary Canon of Canterbury Cathedral.

DAVID KEMP.—Serves regularly at the Cathedral and has made a special study of its heraldry.

MRS. A. K. KLANT.—Amsterdam Author of a Catalogue of wood-cut portraits for the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1972.

JOSEPH ROBINSON.—Canon Residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral.

FRANCIS WOODMAN.—At present at Courtauld Institute; has specialised in the study of English Cathedrals.

## REVIEW APRIL 1974/75

The Canterbury Cathedral Appeal for £3½m. for the preservation of the stained glass windows and the fabric, and for the maintenance of the musical tradition, was launched from Lambeth Palace on December 10th, 1974, under the direction of Michael Hooker & Associates Ltd., Fund-Raising Consultants. The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral are prominently associated with the Appeal; some as Patrons, others as members of the Seneschal's Council. But it must not be thought that the launching of so large an appeal means that the Cathedral will not need Friends any more! Nothing could be further from the truth. We need more Friends to help us with their love and their prayers and their gifts as we face the unknown future, and it may be there are Friends who have not yet contributed to the Appeal who would like their gift to go through the Friends' Office; already some £600 has been transferred to the Appeal Fund in this way.

The Friends' year 1974-75 was less productive in direct income than the previous record year owing mainly to a fall in the always variable level of our Donations and Legacies Income but also, regrettably, to non-renewal of their subscriptions by a number of Friends in North America and Australasia. The year's income, however, remained considerably in excess of that for other past years and enabled the Friends to make gifts to the Dean and Chapter of over £5,000 (£4,600 for the Glassworks and £500 for General Fabric Maintenance).

Individual Friends and the Friends' Office continued to play an indispensable part in many Cathedral activities, including the running of the Cathedral Information Desk with its Sunday sales of Guide Books, etc., to visitors, and the management of Box Office services for the large number of concerts now held in the Nave. The Vienna Boys' Choir filled the Cathedral for the second time in three years with its concert on October 1st, bringing to a close a summer programme of almost weekly performances of one kind or another.

The loss through death during the past twelve months of those Friends whose names are listed in the *Chronicle's* Supplement brought, as always, not only sadness at the ending of what in most cases had been a long association with the Friends, but also deep gratitude for the faithfulness and generosity of their services to the Cathedral. The Council suffered loss, too, with the death in September of Mr. John Saltmarsh, the distinguished Cambridge historian; and some Friends may not know of the deaths in June last year of Harold Anderson (Surveyor to the Fabric, 1946-69) and Dr. Sidney Campbell (Cathedral Organist, 1956-61).

Canterbury has become accustomed to considering Friends' Days as highlights in the annual calendar of events, and June 21st and 22nd, 1974, fully lived up to expectations. On Youth Day, upwards

of 1,000 young Corporate Members of the Friends offered or witnessed musical performances of great variety and skill which in ingenuity and *joie de vivre* surpassed even the lively and talented Youth Day drama programme of 1973. So many were the participants and so full the programme that an admirably organised Barbecue Lunch in the sunshine of the Water Tower Garden needed to be taken in three shifts!

The weather was less good for Friends' Day on the Saturday, but again the Water Tower Garden was used and an excellent tea provided by the Ladies' Catering Committee. This setting evoked for many older members nostalgic memories of the Margaret Babington days of the 1930s. Before tea, Dr. Ramsey, as President of the Friends, addressed the Annual Meeting in the Eastern Crypt on his last Friends' Day appearance as Archbishop. (A happy picture of him with Mrs. Ramsey at the Tea that day appears elsewhere in this *Chronicle*.) Another restored Cloister Bay, the gift of the late Ralph Edward Alderson, was dedicated before Festal Evensong at 3.15 p.m. in the Quire, and the Day finished with a Recital in the Nave by the Gibbons Consort of Voices.

Sir Adrian Boulton, Dr. J. Burgon Bickersteth and Lt.-Col. George Mount have accepted invitations to become Vice-Presidents of the Friends and there have been a number of other changes in Council membership: Miss Judith Pierce and Mr. Michael St. John Parker have resigned, and from June 30th last the Council has welcomed to its ranks Mr. J. Hamish Halls, Mr. John Hayes, Sir Dawnay Lemon, Mr. John Ward and, as a co-opted member with special interest in cathedrals, Mr. Francis Woodman.

Recently the Friends have been honoured by Dr. Michael Ramsey's and Mr. Henry Moore's acceptance of invitations to become Patrons. Many *Chronicle* readers will remember with gratitude Mr. Moore's loan to Canterbury for the 1970 Becket Festival of his celebrated sculpture, the Glenkiln Cross.

A brief review of this kind must necessarily omit many interesting happenings in the Canterbury year, but the following three demand mention if for no other reason than their special historical significance:—

On Monday, 10th June, 1974, at 10.55 a.m. in St. Michael's Chapel (perhaps better known as the Warriors' or Buffs' Chapel), there took place the Dedication of a Lectern and Book of Remembrance given by The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada. The distinguished gathering included many visitors from Canada who, with the immaculately turned-out Canadian Bugle Band, had flown the Atlantic specially to attend this ceremony. This brief but very impressive Service clearly demonstrated once again how strong are the Canadian links with the Cathedral.

Between September 10th and 15th a Franciscan Festival was held in celebration of the 750th Anniversary of the arrival of the first Franciscan friars in this country in 1224. This important international ecumenical occasion, when the Cathedral and City again felt something of the uplifting spirit of St. Francis of Assisi, is recorded in Fr. Agnellus Andrew's sermon reprinted in this issue.

Lastly, on January 24th, 1975, Dr. Donald Coggan was enthroned as the 101st Archbishop of Canterbury. This magnificent ceremony was in no way marred by the exceptional security arrangements so unobtrusively and efficiently organised by the police. Their Royal Highnesses The Prince of Wales, The Princess Margaret and The Duchess of Kent were present in the Cathedral, together with the Leaders of the three major parliamentary political parties at Westminster, Ministers of State, and Church Leaders of various denominations from home and abroad, some of whom for the first time played a direct part in the Enthronement Service itself. There was a great congregation of over 3,000 Clergy and Laity. Some eighteen separate processions moved from the Great West Door through the Nave to the Quire before and after the Service. For the first time, the Enthronement was fully covered by Colour Television, and millions of viewers were able to share in this great Service.

Such events as these are an integral part of this Cathedral's unique history and tradition, and they help to give to Canterbury that special place which it holds, and will always hold, in its Friends' hearts and minds.

With every good wish and thanks to you all.

IAN H. WHITE-THOMSON.

# THE HERALDRY OF THE NAVE

## A LAYMAN'S LOOK

It has been estimated that nearly three million visitors come to Canterbury Cathedral every year, not counting the regular worshippers. The vast majority of them enter the building through the South-West porch and the first view they get of the interior is from the west end of the nave. They are drawn, as the builders intended, eastwards and upwards to the site of the shrine of the "holy and blissful martyr" but how many of them appreciate the mediaeval heraldic splendour that surrounds them as they begin their walk up the nave? How many of us who are utterly familiar with the Cathedral have taken time to look up and see the coats of arms that adorn the soaring arches?

The nave was rebuilt in its present form during the last years of the fourteenth and the first years of the fifteenth century—years that witnessed the power struggle between the sons of the Black Prince and John of Gaunt for the English crown. King Richard II was devoted to St. Edward the Confessor and in fact impaled his royal arms (the quartered lilies and lions) with the golden cross and martlets attributed to the Confessor. Nearly six hundred years later the arms of King Richard's patron saint face those of the usurper Henry IV across the western bay of the high vault of the nave. They are surrounded in the bay by the arms of two of Henry's sons, Henry of Monmouth (later Henry V) and John, Duke of Bedford, and by the shields of Sir Humphrey Stafford and two members of the great warring Percy family from the North, Henry (Hotspur of martial legend) and Ralph. As if to attempt to redress the balance between the spiritual and the temporal, the three golden crowns on a blue field attributed to one of England's patron saints, St. Edmund, are represented among the magnates of the period.

Moving eastwards, the eighth bay (using the convention of numbering the bays from the east end, thus making the eighth bay the second from the west) contains a fine silver griffin on a black shield, the arms of the Kentish family of Colkin; together with another example of the royal arms differenced with a label, those belonging to Edward, Earl of Rutland and Duke of York. The other shield in the bay is much nearer our time than those previously mentioned.

During the 1820's a great deal of restoration work was carried out in the Cathedral and the heraldry in the nave did not escape. Some of the charges on the shields were carved and these were repainted but those on the shields from which the original paint had disappeared were painted with arms relating to the Dean and Chapter of that period. The result in the nave is a curious mixture of early fifteenth century and nineteenth century arms, providing an interesting comparison between the vigorous simplicity of the earlier designs and the fussy intricacies of the last century. This over-elaboration can be seen in the arms of Earl Nelson, a Canon of the Cathedral for thirty-five years (1803-1838) in the eighth bay.



The original arms of Nelson comprised a black cross on a gold field overlaid with a bend charged with three bombs. When the most famous member of the family was victorious at the Battle of the Nile an augmentation (an award of honour) was added to his shield. A simple device such as the pierced lion awarded to the Howards after the Battle of Flodden was not sufficient for the nineteenth century heralds—they designed a seascape containing a palm tree, a disabled ship and a ruined battery and displayed it on a chief on the shield! Nelson also, of course, won the Battle of Trafalgar and was awarded another augmentation; a blue fess inscribed “Trafalgar” which tends to obscure the horizontal arm of the original cross. His brother, Earl Nelson, inherited the arms on the death of Admiral Nelson in 1805 and it is interesting to note that their present day descendants do not use the Trafalgar augmentation when displaying their arms.

In Bay seven are two more nineteenth century coats, those of Canons Norris and Surtees, but in Bay six appears a coat familiar to all who recognise the ostrich feathers as the badge of the Prince of Wales. These feathers are on a red shield and belong to the young prince who was to find immortality in the hearts of Englishmen as the victor of Agincourt, Henry V.

In the next bay eastwards is an example of a “punning” or “canting” coat of arms. The *raison d’être* for heraldry as it evolved in twelfth century England was the ready identification of the bearer of the shield and it was soon found that one of the most effective ways of achieving this end was to allude to the actual name of the bearer in the charges on the shield. Thus the Moore family took a shield bearing three Moor’s heads—the member of the family represented here is Canon George Moore. Opposite this shield in Bay five is the famous quartered coat (a silver lion on a red field and chequered blue and gold) of the Arundel family. This shield belongs to Richard, Earl of Arundel (two bays further east the same coat, differenced with a silver border and impaled with the arms of the See of Canterbury denotes Richard’s son, Thomas, Archbishop from 1396 to 1413).

Bay four contains the arms of William Wellfit, Canon (1785-1833), and a simple coat comprising a blue cross on a silver field, the cross bearing a gold, and crowned, letter “M”. It is thought that this relates to Archbishop Simon Sudbury whose usual arms of a silver dog on a black shield appear several times in the nave. It may be that he adopted the former arms for official purposes after his election as Archbishop. Two more Primates are represented in Bay three, for besides Archbishop Arundel’s arms, there appears the easily recognisable coat of the Courtenay family (three red discs on a gold field); in this instance for William Courtenay, Archbishop from 1381 to 1396, who lies buried in the Trinity Chapel. The episcopal theme is continued in the next bay with, as well as the arms of Dean Gerard Andrews (1809-25), the simple coat of a gold cross on a red field belonging to Bishop John Bokyngham. He was

Bishop of Lincoln from 1363 to 1397 in which year he was translated to the See of Lichfield "a bishopricke not halfe so good" to make way at Lincoln for the twenty-one year old Henry Beaufort who eventually rose to be a Cardinal and Chancellor of England. Bokyngham not unnaturally objected to this arrangement and refused the new appointment, retiring to become a monk at Canterbury. He died the following year leaving valuable property to the Cathedral and was buried in the nave—an inscription in the floor marks the site of his grave to this day.

The easternmost bay of the high vault of the nave contains two examples of the arms of the Priory of Christ Church; on a blue ground a silver cross bearing the letters "I X". There are two distinct theories about the origin of these letters, either they are a Latin abbreviation for *Xristi* or the initial letters of the Greek *Iesus Xristos*. The evidence points to the former view. The arms of Charles Manners Sutton (Archbishop during the nineteenth century restoration) over the eastern arch of the nave complete the heraldry of the high vault.

Turning to the south aisle and moving from east to west, it is immediately apparent that the shields on the north side of the aisle are of a considerably later date than those over the windows. Once again the designs on the north side are the result of restoration and represent various members of the foundation of that period. The arms of Canons Moore, Marlow, Boscawen, Pellew and Bayly together with those of Archdeacon Croft have been identified and it would hardly be necessary to dwell on them save for one or two points of interest. In Bay five appear the arms of Archdeacon Croft (a quarterly coat, Croft and Bowes) and it is the second and third quarters that provide another example of a "punning" coat, the family of Bowes being represented by three longbows. A more famous rendering of this coat is in the arms of H.M. Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother who was Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon before her marriage. In Bay six are the arms of George Pellew, Canon (1822-28), the third son of Admiral Edward Pellew, Lord Exmouth. Admiral Pellew carried out a successful naval action at Algiers and suffered the same heraldic fate as Nelson after the Battle of the Nile—an augmentation consisting of a seascape as a chief on his shield; in this case showing a ship standing off Algiers. It is a strange coincidence that two examples of the same dreadful heraldic design should appear so close to one another. The shields displayed on the ceiling of Bay nine show another type of obstacle with which students of heraldry are often confronted, the inaccurate painting of arms. The arms of Archbishop John Sumner (1848-62) are shown as two red chevrons on a silver field sprinkled with small crosses—in fact the crosses should be ermine tails and the blazon should read "ermine, two chevrons gules". The arms of Archdeacon Croft can be compared with those further east in the south aisle—once again the ermine tails in the Bowes quarter have been mistakenly painted, this time as arrows (presumably to complement the bows!).

The shields over the windows of the south aisle provide a welcome return to familiar ground. The arms of the Priory occur twice, as do the arms of the See of Canterbury (the white pallium over a cross staff on a blue ground) and Archbishop Sudbury's silver dog. The Royal Arms before about 1405 (several lilies in the French quarter as opposed to the three of later times) and a coat bearing the gold winnowing fans of the Septvans family complete the collection. Before leaving the south aisle there is one further heraldic item of which to take note—a delightful boss in the centre of Bay seven consisting of four shields carrying the arms of the Priory, the See, Courtenay and the See impaling Courtenay. What a marvellous contrast this boss makes to the ceiling of Bay nine.

The north aisle contains fewer modern coats than the south aisle but there are several spaces that have not been filled with heraldic features. Moving from the west, Bay eight contains the arms of Brockhill and Frenyngham while Bay seven provides two more examples of the coat of the ousted bishop, John Bokyngham. In the next bay to the east can be seen the arms of the mighty mediaeval family, the Beauchamps (a fess and six gold crosslets on a red ground). One of the most famous bearers of this coat was Warwick the Kingmaker who inherited the Earldom of Warwick by marrying into the Beauchamp family.

The blue lion of the Percys which can be seen at the western end of the nave makes another appearance in Bay five where it is quartered with the three fishes of the Lucy family—this coat probably represents Henry Percy, 2nd Earl of Northumberland. Bay four contains a coat belonging to one of the anomalies of the Middle Ages, a fighting bishop. The arms of Henry le Despencer, Bishop of Norwich from 1370 to 1406, show one of the ways in which members of the same family differenced their arms; the quartered coat of the le Despenchers being surrounded by a blue border charged with six silver mitres. Two other examples in the Cathedral of bishops who used mitres to difference their arms are Archbishop Courtenay (mitres on a blue label) and Cardinal Beaufort (a mitre on the blue and silver Beaufort border around the Royal Arms). Two more representations of the Sudbury dog in Bay three lead on to a nineteenth century coat belonging to Canon John Russell—the arms have now descended to another member of the Russell family, the present Duke of Bedford. In the easternmost bay of the north aisle the Percy/Lucy arms appear again [this time probably representing Dean Hugh Percy (1825-27)] as do the Arundel arms noted in the high vault of the nave. The arms of the City of Canterbury incorporating the Cornish choughs attributed to Thomas Becket round off the north aisle over its eastern arch.

This brief account of the heraldry of the nave cannot begin to discuss the arms on the various memorials, or those contained in the windows of the nave—a treasure-house of interest in themselves. Looking at the arms of the City of Canterbury at the end of the North Aisle the eye is apt to wander to the transept ceiling above the Martyrdom; but that is another tale . . . .

DAVID KEMP.

## TWO TOMBS IN THE SOUTH QUIRE AISLE

### A Catalogue of Confusion

There has been a great deal of confusion over the last four centuries about the identity of the two tombs in the South Choir aisle, now generally accepted to be those of Prior Henry of Eastry d. 1331 and Archbishop Walter Reynolds d. 1327. The Eastry tomb was long thought to be that of Reynolds, and the Reynolds' tomb that of Hubert Walter d. 1205. The history of this confusion provides a classic example of original mistakes repeated *ad infinitum* by successive historians, and highlights the choice faced by modern writers between those authors who looked at their source material *in situ*, who were few and far between, and those who blindly repeated or paraphrased previous published opinions.

Hubert Walter appears to be a complete maverick in this problem, as he was buried in Trinity Chapel. His tomb was opened in the late 19th century when a spirit of antiquarian enquiry still pervaded the Precincts; but its position was already known through a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS. 298. This is a compilation of various Christchurch folios, and formed part of Archbishop Parker's bequest to that college. Ironically, if he had read his own MSS. thoroughly much of the confusion over these tombs would not have arisen.

MS. 298, f. 106 gives very specific details as to the placing of Walter's tomb "Sepultus est in Ecclesia Christi Cantuar juxta feretum Sancti Thomae" with a marginal note in another hand, "aliter sub fenestra in parti australi". This additional information throws an interesting light on the source material for the MS. as it suggests that the original reference as "next to the shrine of St. Thomas" was no longer sufficient, and that it was necessary to add that Walter was "under a window on the southern side". This would imply that the original source for the MS. was before 1396; that is before the building of Archbishop Courtenay's tomb between Walter and the shrine of St. Thomas. This suggests that the marginal writer was adding his own observations to the text where it had become necessary to be more exact. Therefore, when he passes over the statement that Prior Henry of Eastry was buried, "inter imagines sanctarum virginum Sythe et Apollinie", f. 118, we can safely assume that no additional information was necessary, for the position of the two "imagines" was as obvious then as when Eastry was buried. Unfortunately we have no information available now to pin-point these two "imagines", but it has been suggested that they were positioned in the two niches flanking the tomb.

It is important to establish a date for MS. 298, as Leland, the next writer on the location of tombs, probably began his Itinerary about 1539. M. R. James in his Catalogue of Corpus Christi says that the MS. has an early 16th century date, but it should be possible to be a little more accurate from the information it contains. Canon



Scott Robinson in *Archeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 20, suggests c. 1532, as Warham's tomb is mentioned and he died in that year. However, his tomb was completed in 1507. The most accurate guide would be the last Prior mentioned, Goldwell, who succeeded Goldstone II in 1517. This would seem to be a suitably early date for James.

Leland's Itinerary was presented to the King in 1546 but unfortunately the work is very incomplete and unsystematic and much of it was lost long before the end of the 16th century. It is clear that Leland knew the Cathedral before 1541, as he describes the tomb of Robert Winchelsey d. 1313 which stood in the South East Transept. He states that this tomb was destroyed as some believed him to be a saint, and this probably would have been during the general dispoilation of shrines in 1541. After dealing with Winchelsey in the South East Transept, he continues "In the lower part on . . . (missing) . . . straite Isle . . . (missing) . . . of the choir" and then: "Walterus Chauncelare", and "A . . . (missing)." This is tragically incomplete, but it is clear that Leland has moved into the South Choir Aisle and is dealing with one of the two tombs there. We have no idea whether the other tomb was referred to in a missing section. The fragmentary inscription "Walterus Chauncelare" helped to sow the seeds of confusion for centuries, for later writers assumed that the "Walterus" referred to was Hubert Walter though Reynolds' Christian name was also Walter. Unfortunately, Leland's section on the Trinity Chapel is also incomplete and it is not known if the actual tomb of Hubert Walter was recorded, but it is clear that by the mid-16th century few people, if any, knew the correct identity of some of the tombs and that Leland's fragmentary information was seized upon and misinterpreted.

One of the first people to do so was Archbishop Matthew Parker in his *De Antiquitate* of 1572. He stated that Hubert Walter was buried "in chori pariete ad austrum" (p. 233) and that Walter Reynolds was buried "in australi chori muro" (p. 324). It appears that Parker believed that both these tombs were in the South Choir Aisle wall, and in Hubert Walter's case this cannot have meant the south side of Trinity Chapel, and the word "chori" would not have been incorrectly applied by Matthew Parker. If he thought that Hubert Walter's tomb was in the South Choir Aisle, then it can only have arisen from a mistaken interpretation of the fragmentary Itinerary. This explanation must allow for some memory or identification of Reynolds' actual tomb to have survived so that Parker could place him, independently from Leland, as being in the South Choir wall, and to his quite erroneously giving Leland's "Walterus Chauncelare" to the other unidentified tomb; i.e., Eastry's. Leland gives no idea as to which tomb was that of "Walterus Chauncelare" and the evidence borne out by the tomb itself suggests that there was no inlaid metal inscription on the Reynolds' tomb as can be found on other monuments such as Kemp's. Therefore, there must have been some movable epitaph



“table” placed on the tomb, and early 17th century references can be found to such tables that no doubt existed earlier. Obviously, no such table survived to identify Eastry’s tomb. The memory of a Prior’s tomb cannot have mattered much after the Suppression, but there can be little doubt that some form of epitaph survived for Reynolds. If a table still stood on the correct tomb, then Parker would have known which was Reynolds, and he could have simply decided that the other tomb was “Walterus Chauncelare”. Confirmation that the position of Reynolds’ tomb was still known at this time comes from Francis Godwin, in his *Catalogue of English Bishops of 1601*. Godwin says of Reynolds “He was buried in the south wall of Christ Church Canterbury neere the Quier, where his tomb is to be seen with an inscription which I have read long since, but I think is now defaced.” Godwin does not go on to quote this inscription which is unusual for him as he cites many others. He also states that Hubert Walter was buried near to Reynolds, though he is not specific. He probably took the information from Parker, but was unsure as to whether it was the Eastry tomb that was intended.

The most interesting point from Godwin’s book is that the epitaph on Reynolds’ tomb still existed late in the 16th century (confirming that Parker would have known it), but it was defaced by 1601. However, Weever in his *Funeral Monuments of 1631* quotes a long inscription from the tomb of Walter Reynolds “Hic requiecait dominus Walterus Reynolds prius Episcopus Wigorniensis, Angliae cancellarius, diende Archiepiscopus istium Ecclesia qui obit 16 Die mens Novembris Anno Gratia 1327. This inscription upon his tomb in the South wall now hardly to be read”. If Weever is to be believed, then a vellum table had been set up on Reynolds’ tomb since 1601 which had already been defaced or become faded by 1631. There is no evidence to suggest that the wording of this epitaph was the same as was seen by Godwin, but it is evident that the “Walterus Chauncelare” recorded by Leland did not appear on Godwin’s table, for if it had, Parker would not have made his initial mistake over Hubert Walter. Weever states that he has read Parker’s *De Antiquitate* and he also implies that he has studied the Itinerary, but he seems to share Godwin’s reservations over the exact siting of Hubert Walter’s tomb which he says is “in the south wall of this church”. There can be no doubt, however, that Weever is referring to some tomb other than Walter’s actual monument because in an earlier section he states “In the south part of St. Thomas’ Chapel in a marble tomb joining to the wall lieth the body of Theobald”. He then quotes a long epitaph which must have been on another hanging vellum table which had probably been set up since 1601 as Godwin does not mention it.

It is apparent that a whole spate of new tables appeared between 1601 and 1631, and the faded condition of Reynolds’ by that year suggests that they were made soon after 1601. This fact is confirmed

by Somner. Weever reports all the epitaphs published by Godwin, but adds Theobald, Reynolds, Dean d. 1503, Lanfranc d. 1089 and Oxenden d. 1338. Somner's first edition of *Antiquities of Canterbury*, 1640, provides an amazing insight into the antiquarian confusion that prevailed in the Cathedral over the identity of tombs at this time. Incorrect epitaph tables were hanging everywhere, and Somner gives a despairing list of all the mistakes known to him. Many of these errors are laid at Godwin's door; for example, Godwin thought that Peckham's tomb d. 1292 in the Martyrdom was actually that of Archbishop Ufford d. 1349, and by 1640 a table to that effect was on Peckham's tomb. Somner also notes that the tables of St. Odo d. 958 and of Archbishop Meopham d. 1333 were both hanging on the tomb of Archbishop Sudbury d. 1381. Further evidence that Godwin's book resulted in new and incorrect tables being set up on tombs comes from Somner's account of the supposed tomb of Archbishop Theobald d. 1161 (actually Hubert Walter's) in Trinity Chapel. Somner recalls that Godwin named this tomb as Theobald's "... and accordingly there hangs a table lately made of him and his acts". Somner, however, believed that the "Theobald" tomb in Trinity Chapel was actually that of St. Anselm d. 1109. Of Hubert Walter, Somner says "buried July 13th, 1205, in the south wall of Christchurch, beside the Quire. His tomb is there extant at this day and is (I take it) the most ancient one (except Anselmes) that the church visibly affords" and of Reynolds "... buried in the south wall of Christchurch, neere the Quire where his tomb is yet extant". He does not record the epitaph, which is not surprising as it was hardly visible in 1631, but the memory of Reynolds' identity would certainly span such a short time. Somner is clearly following the established line over the identity of the Eastry tomb, from Parker through Godwin and Weever.

The last informant of the 17th century is also the most helpful; Hollar's ground plan made for Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* of 1655. This plan has a numbered index of monuments and shows for the first time that the exact position of Reynolds' tomb was still known, and that it was Eastry's tomb that was identified as that of Hubert Walter. It would be interesting to know if Hollar consulted Somner over this.

Perhaps it would be wise to sum up the situation as it stood at the Restoration; it was commonly agreed that the tomb of Henry of Eastry was that of Hubert Walter, and that of Walter in Trinity Chapel was Archbishop Theobald. The only dissenter was Somner who, whilst agreeing that Eastry was Walter, thought Walter was St. Anselm and that Theobald's tomb lay in the Nave. In the latter at least he was correct. There appears to be no doubt during the century after the Dissolution as to the correct position of the tomb of Walter Reynolds.

The 18th century was to overthrow all this. Battely's edition of Somner with plates was published in 1703. He printed Hollar's plan of 1655, and commissioned J. Collins to produce the plates. Battely records that Weever, 1631, quotes an inscription from the tomb of Walter Reynolds, but that he, Battely "... can only see where it once was". This rather enigmatic phrase is most intriguing as he then produces a plate called the tomb of Walter Reynolds (actually showing the tomb of Henry of Eastry) which hitherto was thought to be Hubert Walter. He then completes his mistake by producing a plate of Walter Reynolds' actual tomb which he calls Hubert Walter. In effect swopping the two identifications despite the fact that he also uses Hollar's plan which shows them the other way round. Battely also states that the identity of the tomb that he calls Hubert Walter (in fact Reynolds) is only traditional and has no inscription on it. This means that the faded epitaph table that stood on Reynolds' tomb in 1631 had disappeared, and that the memory of the exact position of his tomb had not survived into the 18th century. Battely must have relied on previous authors for the identity of these two tombs, and have decided himself which was which, without regard to Hollar's plan. His mistake was to be repeated.

In his *History and Antiquity of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, published in 1726, Dart repeats Battely's errors, with prints of Eastry's tomb as Reynolds' and Reynolds' as Walters. Above the plate of Eastry's, which is his "Reynolds", he quotes the epitaph for Walter Reynolds from Weever, 1631, and adds "... whereon was sometime this inscription scarcely legible many years since, now almost invisible". Ironically, he too takes his plan from Hollar with the tombs reversed. This is a clear example of both Dart and Battely repeating information that was inaccurate almost a century before—the inscription on Reynolds' tomb was not legible in 1640 let alone in 1726; but Dart implies that it is still just visible although he is referring to quite the wrong tomb. This sort of problem is one that Art Historians and Antiquarians often face, but one they seldom recognise.

All these mistakes were repeated by Burnby in his *Historical Description of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ Canterbury* of 1772, and by then they must represent accepted Antiquarian opinion. Gostling in his *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury* 1774 reversed the identification of Reynolds and Walter without comment or explanation. He states that Reynolds' tomb was Reynolds' and that Eastry's was Walter's so reverting to the accepted view of Somner's time. He might well have come to this decision by simply studying Hollar's indexed plan. Hasted in his *Antiquities of Canterbury* 1799 copies Hollar's plan and describes the two tombs in some detail. It is quite clear that he accepts Reynolds' as Reynolds' and Eastry's as Walter's, but he paraphrases Dart over the Reynolds' inscription which he describes as obliterated, though Dart was referring to the adjoining tomb.

The sudden about-face by Gostling and Hasted may well have led to Woolnoth's total confusion in his book on Christ Church of 1816. His ground plan accepts Reynolds as Reynolds, Eastry as Walter and Walter as Theobald. This is very late for anyone still to call Walter's actual tomb that of Theobald, for Gervase was known from early in the 18th century and from that Dart was able to place Theobald's tomb correctly in the North Aisle of the Nave. However, Woolnoth's attribution proves that he copied Hollar's plan of 1655. He then falls back on Battely's mistake and produces a fine print of the actual tomb of Walter Reynolds which he proceeds to call Hubert Walter's and he describes it as such in the text. He also describes Eastry's actual tomb in some detail and this he calls Walter Reynolds; but adds to his confusion by stating that it lay westwards of his Hubert Walter tomb and not eastwards. This probably represents the highpoint of confusion with plates, texts and plan all contradicting each other.

Willis in his *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral 1845*, seems to by-pass all the 18th century writers to get back to more basic texts; Hollar's ground plan and Matthew Parker. From these he places Reynolds correctly and returns to the idea that Eastry's tomb was that of Hubert Walter and not Walter Reynolds. However, he notes that the panelling on this tomb must be of later construction than Walter's death in 1205. This is the first time that a stylistic opinion is put forward about this tomb, but Willis was not prepared to challenge Matthew Parker's view that this was Hubert Walter. Willis also failed to answer the question left unanswered since 1726 when Dart stated that the marble tomb in Trinity Chapel was not that of Theobald. He could not identify whose tomb it was, but he was able to date it to the late 12th century since it must have post-dated 1184. Willis suggested that it might have been built to take the bones of earlier Archbishops moved during the 1174-84 building campaigns. It is surprising that faced with these two tombs, one supposedly of a man who died in 1205 but stylistically far later in date, and another of a very late 12th century date, he did not take the rather obvious step of suggesting that the Trinity Chapel tomb was in fact Hubert Walter's. This only goes to prove the strength of a constantly repeated mistake.

The 19th century was a great period of Antiquarian endeavour and saw the beginning of a serious study of mediaeval architecture. In 1893, Canon Scott Robinson was able to report on the opening of the Trinity Chapel tomb which finally proved it to be that of Hubert Walter, and he was also the first to understand the possible importance of Corpus Christi MS. 298, which stated unequivocally that Hubert Walter's tomb was exactly where it was found. Robinson also noted that the figure on Reynolds' tomb (he thought Eastry was Reynolds) was unusual in having neither pall nor staff.

It was three years later, and really quite incidentally, that St. John Hope published in the *Archeological Journal*, Vol. 53, his view that the tomb previously thought to be Walter Reynolds (actually



Eastry's) was in fact that of Henry of Eastry. He quotes MS. 298 about the "imagines" of Saints Sythe and Apollonie and suggests that they were placed in the two niches flanking the tomb and that the figure is certainly that of a mitred Prior without staff, crozier (or pallium). This attribution to Henry of Eastry filled the gap left by the discovery of Hubert Walter's actual tomb; both lost from memory for over four centuries. Historically and stylistically, for reasons that follow, St. John Hope must be correct. The westernmost tomb must be that of Walter Reynolds from the fact that Leland, who knew the church before the Dissolution, states that a tomb in this aisle belonged to someone whose name included Walter and who was also Chancellor—once Hubert Walter is eliminated, Walter Reynolds is the only candidate. Stylistically, both tombs relate closely to the Fynden Gate of St. Augustine's Abbey begun c. 1300. The upper chamber was in progress in 1308, but though the two tombs are of later dates, 1327 and 1331, they are by no means archaic due to the revolutionary character of the gate. The Reynolds' tomb has a derivative arcade from the upper chamber façade, and the capitals and bases, though reduced in scale, relate to those on the gate. An even closer parallel would appear to be the lower arcading on Henry of Eastry's sanctuary screens of 1304. Eastry's tomb is very complex, with many Canterbury or Kent School features, such as the crenellated ridge across the centre. The panelling of the tombchest and wings is close to the battlements and turrets of the Gate. The work in Canterbury of this period is remarkably coherent; the Fynden Gate has close stylistic connections with the contemporary choir screens in the Cathedral and the style has hardly changed on Meopham's tomb nearly thirty years later.

It appears that the screen façade of the Eastry monument was designed to frame a tomb figure made for another location, as the window jambs have been cut back to accommodate the effigy. Even this widening was not sufficient, and the stonework above the canopy of the tomb slab was crudely cut back when the effigy was positioned. It was necessary to cut the figure into three sections in order to get it into place, which strongly suggests that the façade screen of the tomb was in position before the figure. The design of the tomb slab is somewhat archaic in detail to be of the same date as the façade screen, and the general damaged state of the effigy suggests that it once lay in the floor, probably over a prepared empty tomb. It is known that Prior Henry of Eastry drew up his "Obituary" list of works when he felt the approach of death in 1321, and preparations for his tomb could well date from that time. The usual position for this type of funeral monument, with flanking shafts and a canopy, would be as a floor slab. This kind of tomb was extremely common in the 13th century (for example Bishop Kilkenny in Ely d. 1257), but was gradually superceded in the early 14th century by funeral brasses and later by alabaster figures on tomb chests. The notion of Eastry's tomb being in two parts, the



floor slab and the architectural screen, would be consistent with Eastry's position as Prior, for even he would not have prepared such a grandiose monument for himself as it was the accepted practice for Priors to be buried in the floor. In the Treasurer's accounts for 1330-1 there is an entry "*Pro tumbe domini H. prioris xxjli iij s iij d*" and this expense by the Priory could well be to accommodate the prepared slab in a more fitting architectural setting, giving due regard to the greatness and uniqueness of the late Prior.

One feature of the effigy slab that is extremely interesting is the painted design on its canopy. This is rather difficult to see (as the western jamb of the screen cuts in front of it), but the canopy exterior retains a painted motif of arcades climbing up and down the extrados of the gables. This motif was to be important in the interior design of the upper chapel at St. Stephen's, Westminster, the most important Royal work of the period. The architect of the upper chapel was almost certainly Walter of Canterbury, and the climbing arcade motif was used later by William Ramsey over the lower exterior arches of his Chapter House for Old St. Paul's. Another link between this latter work and the Eastry tomb can be found on the flanking wings of the tomb screen of 1331, a year before the design of the Chapter House; namely the reticulated window set into a triangular gable. It is not surprising to find that William Ramsey was closely connected with the Canterbury School and is known to have been working under Walter of Canterbury at St. Stephen's in 1325. However, it would appear that neither Walter nor Ramsey was the Architect of the Eastry tomb, due to its relationship with the Fynden Gate. This cannot stylistically be attributed to Walter but is probably the work of Thomas of Canterbury, whose transfer to London was not permanent until he became the King's Master Mason in 1331.

The Fynden Gate, the Cathedral lateral screens, and the tombs of Reynolds, Eastry and Meopham appear to belong to a single hand, and are significantly different from the "Court" stream of Walter of Canterbury. There is no documentary evidence to connect any of the known Canterbury Masters with these works; but Thomas is known to have designed the Oxenden window, 1336, in St. Anselm's Chapel which has close design links with the choir screens. This shows that Thomas retained his Canterbury connections and was still probably Master Mason for the Cathedral.

Compared to the Eastry tomb, the Reynolds' monument is far more subdued, and the effigy placed on it does not appear to belong. Hope pointed out that the Eastry figure was a Prior and not an Archbishop, but he did not mention that the "Reynolds'" effigy is equally that of a mitred Prior, without pallium, staff or crozier. This figure is very damaged and has been broken at least once. The table top also has been damaged, and the cutting back of the shaft bases on each side and the splitting of the façade screen immediately

below suggests that the tomb has been opened. This would not have been for Reynolds' burial in 1327 as the tomb was built after his death. This is an unusual occurrence in Canterbury, where Archbishops generally prepared their tombs well in advance of their deaths; but Reynolds had asked to be buried "in plana terra" next to the tomb of his predecessor Robert Winchelsey which stood in the South East Transept. Apparently the Priory decided to ignore this wish and to give Reynolds a better memorial; perhaps to express their gratitude as the Archbishop had bequeathed to them the very desirable Manor of Caldecote they had long coveted. Therefore, the tomb would have been built around the coffin and any later opening could well be connected with the placing of a Prior's effigy on the table top.

All the Priors buried in Canterbury can be accounted for, but Prior Oxenden d. 1338, Henry of Eastry's successor, may well have been moved. He was originally buried in the Chapel of St. Michael off the South West Transept. This Chapel was rebuilt in the 15th century to accommodate the vast tomb of Lady Margaret Holland and her two husbands which was completed in 1437. The size of this monument resulted in the rather summary treatment of the tomb of Cardinal Stephen Langton d. 1228 and was also responsible for the shifting of Oxenden. Weever, 1631, and Somner, 1640, both record the following epitaph which Somner says was on the east wall of the chapel, "*Hic requiecit in Gratia et Misericordia Dei. Ricardus Oxiden Quondam Prior hujus, Ecclesia, qui obit. Aug. 4. 1338*". This plaque could indicate that Oxenden had been reburied in or at the foot of the east wall, or it could be that it was another early 17th century epitaph table hung there on some textural evidence that that was the original site of Oxenden's burial. This seems to be more likely as Hasted, 1799, states that the epitaph was then on the north wall of the Chapel. Any monument made for Oxenden's tomb in St. Michael's Chapel has gone, but couldn't the defaced and broken Prior's figure lost on the expanse of Reynolds' tomb top be the final resting place of Oxenden's effigy? The figure is certainly very close in style to that of Henry of Eastry and cannot be far from it in date. Further, with the evidence of the opening of the Archbishop's tomb after 1327, it could well be that the Reynolds' monument contains more of Oxenden than just his effigy.

FRANCIS WOODMAN.



*The Westernmost Tomb (Archibald Walter Reynolds) placed in the "Tomb of the South Gate" 1884*



*The 100th Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Michael Ramsey, with Mrs. Ramsey in the Water Tower Garden*



*At the Dedication of another restored Cloister Bay*



*Lady helpers preparing Tea in the Water Tower Garden*





*Stained Glass Restoration Studio*

# STAINED GLASS RESTORATION

## *A Progress Report*

In the 1974 edition of the *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, Canon Robinson described the alarming condition of the 12th and 13th century Stained Glass Windows. The extent of deterioration had not been fully appreciated until 1971 when a survey of the Great West Window and the South-West Transept Windows was carried out by Dr. Madeline Caviness and myself.

By May, 1973, a new studio-workshop had been "topped out" and occupied by two original members of the restoration team; a number soon increased to three by the enrolment of a trainee from the North Devon College of Art. This workshop, vital to our long-term needs, was the culmination of two years' work and planning. During that time a semi-derelict building adjacent to the Precincts was stripped to its brickwork, re-roofed, and completely reconstructed internally to form a modern and efficient complex comprising workshop, laboratory, strong room, photo-studio and offices. A generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust enabled us to buy various items of scientific and technical equipment needed for the glass restoration work, which started in advance of completion of re-building operations. To prevent further deterioration of those windows most at risk, two South Quire Clerestory Windows and the "Adam Delving" Panel from the Great West Window were removed into safe storage without delay. In September, 1972, it was these windows which were erected in the Crypt for study by the 8th Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, a body of scientists, historians and artists from all European countries concerned with the preservation and documentation of Medieval Stained Glass. At this meeting opinion was unanimous that the predictable life of the glass was limited to twenty years unless remedial measures were taken. This verdict gave new urgency to plans already prepared.

A subsequent tour of European restoration workshops brought us into contact with experts with long experience in the problems we were now facing. The heads of departments concerned were most generous with their help and advice. From this tour has developed a free exchange of ideas and reciprocal visits of staff under sponsorship of the British Council, with the result that the techniques and methods used in the restoration of Canterbury Glass have become part of the present general European pre-occupation with the rescue of Medieval Glass.

A further early removal was that of two windows in the North Quire Clerestory. These have many 19th Century additions but also much genuine 12th Century Glass. One of these windows had been re-glazed in 1926 but apparently no restoration work was then done on the glass as such. Both windows are now also in a temperature

and humidity controlled strong room awaiting attention; restoration work having been interrupted by the discovery that one of the Austin (1860) South Clerestory windows was in danger of disintegration under wind pressure. Glass had actually been dislodged from the leads, and it was also found that the ferramenta of the neighbouring windows had broken and the glass was being crushed by the weight of the panels above. These windows needed to be removed and re-glazed in stronger leads. The iron work has also been repaired and the windows, now cleaned and strengthened, have been returned to their respective openings.

It is important to stress that the advanced condition of glass decomposition at Canterbury is beyond anything so far experienced at home or abroad. This is the result of a combination of factors: instability of the glass due to imperfect conditions and materials in manufacture, damp local atmospheric conditions, and the acceleration of glass decay due to storage in damp conditions during two world wars. It is known that carbondioxide and sulphur dioxide are highly destructive both to glass and stone. While these materials are dry chemical action is halted but the most damaging effect is caused by static moisture which converts sulphur dioxide to sulphuric acid.

Much of the ancient glass is now almost opaque, with a thick layering of gypsum and hydrated silica on the outside surface. It is deeply pitted, and the glass is reduced to about one-third of its original thickness. The inner surfaces are heavily coated with calcium sulphate, which has the consistency of cement and is composed of normal dust, lime dust from the stone work, and of the by-products of combustion and condensation. There is no known solvent for this material and although its effect on glass is minimal it has the effect of desiccating and destroying the painted detail. This is a severe problem which can only be overcome by long and laborious work if the glass is to be restored to translucence without further damage to the painted areas.

The actual work of restoration again suffered delay in July, 1974, when a scaffold was erected at the Royal Windows over the Martyrdom. This was opportune as it happens, for in the course of cleaning the windows it was discovered that the head of Elizabeth Woodville, already broken into several pieces, was detached from its leads and in danger of falling. The whole panel was immediately removed to the workshop, the fragments cleaned ultrasonically and assembled on 1.3 mm. water-clear glass. The gaps and joints were filled with clear epoxy resin and heat cured. The missing paint work was carefully replaced. Finally, the panel was re-glazed and restored to its opening. At the same time other fractures were repaired *in situ*.

The Studio staff has at the date of writing (February, 1975), reached eight in number. These people form the nucleus of our work force. Only two lack training in art, and these were selected

for their particular skills as versatile craftsmen. The work in the studio has now developed a definite pattern and although each member of the staff has his or her defined responsibility, all are required to share in the work done by others. All the processes of restoration are varied and complicated. They are carried out in the light of existing knowledge and well-tested techniques. Restoration is precise, careful, and often monotonous work; but every effort is made so to arrange the work that no member of the staff remains on any one process to the point of boredom.

When a window is removed to the studio, a rubbing is taken of each panel; fractures and corroded holes in the glass are indicated on the rubbing in red. Each panel is then erected in the photo studio and photographed under controlled conditions. By this means an accurate record is assembled. Similarly, on completion of the work of restoration, photographs are again taken and the work on the panel is recorded on the rubbing by means of symbols.

Very recently, and because of repairs to the gable of the South-West Transept, it has become necessary to remove the Stained Glass Window there; this comprises twenty-four main lights and seventy-three panels in all including the tracery. The openings will be temporarily glazed and the work of removal will take approximately three months starting from mid-February, 1975. Replacement of this priceless Medieval Stained Glass by clear sheet glass, temporary as this change will be, must emphasise, with the loss in colour, beauty, and grandeur involved, what is at stake in seeking to achieve the target of more than £1½ million under the current Canterbury Cathedral Appeal for preservation of the Cathedral's magnificent ancient Stained Glass.

FREDERICK COLE.

## ARCHIEPISCOPAL ENTHRONEMENTS CONSIDERED

The magnificent ceremonies attendant upon the Enthronement of Dr. Donald Coggan as Archbishop of Canterbury on January 24th of this year recalled the famous greeting of Pope Urban II when he hailed St. Anselm as "almost our equal, being as it were Pope and Patriarch of another world"; for the Anglican Communion and its development over the last two centuries has given to the Archbishop of Canterbury a place in Christendom whose uniqueness was clearly demonstrated by the vast assembly of eminent clerical and lay persons gathered in the cathedral, the like of which can never have been seen in Canterbury before in all its long history.

Many have asked the basic questions about the Enthronement ceremonies . . . when did they begin to be regarded as a necessary start for the work of an archbishop, how did they take their present form, and have all archbishops been thus enthroned from mediaeval times to the present day. This article will endeavour to answer some of the questions which arise every time this great occasion casts its glow over the life of the church in Canterbury and over a much wider field in the Church of England at home, and its sister churches in other lands.

There seems to be little record of enthronements in Saxon or Norman times, but the accounts of Becket's enthronement are clear enough to suggest that he followed the example of his predecessors in this matter, so a glance at the ceremonies of June 3rd (the Sunday after Pentecost), 1162, may be helpful. In those days the Patriarchal Chair, made from a single stone according to Gervase, stood at the top of a flight of eight steps behind the High Altar and to the west of a small apsidal chapel dedicated to the Blessed Trinity.

Becket had been ordained priest the day before by Bishop Walter of Rochester. On this Sunday morning he was consecrated bishop by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of the "young King" Henry, son and heir of Henry II, fourteen bishops, many abbots and priors and a large assembly of barons and lay folk, while a throng of common people, discerning in him a champion, were gathered around the cathedral to cheer him. After consecration he ascended the steps to the Chair and sat there at the first part of the Pontifical High Mass, descending to the altar for the Consecration. After this he celebrated another Mass at the altar of the Blessed Trinity, and then standing at his Chair proclaimed that this Sunday after Pentecost should henceforth be celebrated all over England as Trinity Sunday; a custom which may have been local to Canterbury up till that time, but from now onwards became universal in England and in the later Middle Ages was declared obligatory for the whole Church by papal decree. (His enthronement was followed by the reception of the pallium from Rome on St. Lawrence Day, August 10th, following).



In mediaeval times the ceremonial included a state reception of the Archbishop by the Prior and Convent in copes at the West Door as he came over from the Palace attended by his chaplains and staff, and many of the great magnates of the realm, usually including several bishops. On the occasion of the enthronement of Archbishop Walter Reynolds in 1314, King Edward II was present, for the Archbishop had been his tutor; but the presence of the sovereign on this occasion was unusual enough to call for comment, though kings and queens were present as pilgrims to the Shrine often enough all through the Middle Ages. (It was not Edward II's first experience of such occasions, for he accompanied his father, Edward I, to the enthronement of Archbishop Winchelsey in 1293.)

Usually, after the reception at the West Door the Primate was escorted by Prior and Convent to the Sanctuary and there installed by the Prior in the Marble Chair, after which *Te Deum* was sung. The Archbishop then exchanged his cope for mass vestments and sang a solemn Mass, and after the Convent had made him a promise of canonical obedience in the Chapter House as their titular abbot, a great banquet followed at which lavish hospitality was offered to all and sundry. Most famous of these Enthronement banquets were those offered by Robert Winchelsey in 1293 and William Warham in 1504. Winchelsey, a local boy who rose to the great position of Primate of All England, offered his guests enormous quantities of fish including both fresh and salted salmon, white and red herrings, sturgeon, and both seales and porpoises (from which we can conclude that he was enthroned in Lent); all this being washed down with some ten casks of red wine and claret and thirty casks of beer . . . the cost being over £513 or at least £10,000 in modern money.

His enthronement feast, however, pales into insignificance when compared to that of Warham, another Lenten banquet on Passion Sunday, 1504; for on this occasion some two hundred and thirty-six fish dishes were served as well as many sweets, the Duke of Buckingham acting as Steward. A feature of the proceedings was the presentation of many culinary 'subtleties' with each course (a full account of all this makes fascinating reading and can be found in Batteley's edition of William Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1703 Edition).

We owe our knowledge of fifteenth century enthronements to Dom John Stone, the monk of Christ Church Priory, who kept a record of doings in his monastery and cathedral for over half the fifteenth century, and he records the enthronements of Archbishop Stafford (September, 1433), Cardinal Kemp (December, 1452), and Archbishop Bouchier on January 26th, 1454. The latter prelate, who had been Bishop of Ely, was Archbishop of Canterbury for over thirty years. He was a great-grandson of Edward III and seems to have been enthroned with exceptional splendour being supported by the Bishops of Winchester and London on his left and right hand, and greeted by the whole convent in white copes as well as all

the local Priors and Abbots of religious houses. Lay magnates present included the Duke of Buckingham as Steward, Tiptoft, the well-known Earl of Worcester, and the Earls of Dorset and Stafford among other nobles.

Perhaps the great expense of entertaining all these magnates deterred some of the more careful prelates; at any rate Warham's predecessor, Henry Dene, Bishop of Sarum, never was enthroned but indulged in the rather curious alternative of a very lavish funeral in February, 1503; his body being brought from Lambeth by water to Faversham and then escorted to Canterbury by road with a great retinue of retainers carrying torches (which included his chaplains, two young men named Thomas Wolsey and Stephen Gardiner, not unknown to Tudor historians).

Thomas Cranmer has the distinction of being the last prelate to be enthroned in the grand mediaeval manner, but an ominous warning of things to come was given by the fact that though elected in 1532 on the death of Warham, he did not get down to Canterbury to be enthroned till December 3rd, 1533. However, proper ceremony was observed on this occasion, the new Primate (fresh from the marriage and coronation of Anne Bullen to Henry VIII) walking barefoot through the streets of Canterbury specially sanded for the occasion by the Corporation, and after his reception by Prior Goldwell and his monks, taking his seat in the Marble Chair, listening to a solemn Te Deum, and presiding over a banquet in the Palace (much of the food at which seems to have been provided by the Convent in the form of swans and partridges). It was twenty-three years later that Cardinal Pole was elected Archbishop after the burning of Cranmer, and by this time the Middle Ages had passed away with a vengeance, and Prior and Convent had been replaced by an absentee Dean (Nicholas Wotton) and twelve prebendaries or canons residentiary as we now call them. The Cardinal was too busy to come in person to be enthroned, the Dean was on a diplomatic mission in Paris, and the Archdeacon was otherwise engaged; so to comply with forms of law the principals sent down proxies and thus began an evil custom which was to last on and off for nearly three hundred years. (It may seem strange that Cardinal Pole, used to the great papal ceremonies of Italy, should not have desired something impressive to take place in his own cathedral to mark the re-establishment of the Roman rite; but by the time he became Archbishop in 1556 he was old and tired with only two years more to live, and may not have thought it worth the trouble, considering the disturbed state of England at the time in matters religious and civil.) The Tudor period saw the rise of the lawyers with their theories about everything imaginable, and since they had decided that the ceremony of enthronement was not really important and merely represented the getting of seisin after induction, it was thought that this could be done by proxy; so Pole sent his Commissary General, Robert Collins, to represent him and take over corporal possession of the archbishopric, and it

would seem that his example was followed by Matthew Parker in 1559, when again the Dean and the Archdeacon were too busy to attend. (John Whitgift alone among the Elizabethan and Caroline bishops was solemnly enthroned . . . on October 23rd, 1583.)

Legally, it seems now to have been accepted that an Archbishop took office from the moment his election was confirmed by a royal commission of bishops, and even so great a stickler for forms and ceremonies as William Laud did not trouble to come to Canterbury in person, but celebrated his promotion to the Primacy with a banquet on the night of the confirmation of his election. Curiously enough, the first archbishop after Whitgift to be formally enthroned in person in his own cathedral seems to have been that stout Whig prelate, Thomas Tenison, who came down to Canterbury in May, 1695, to be enthroned by the Archdeacon with the traditional ceremonies, though he was careful to say that he was satisfied that there was nothing dependant on it. Perhaps it was because of this ceremony that he presented to his cathedral church, in 1702, the handsome throne with pillars and mitred canopy above that stood in the traditional position for an episcopal throne on the south side of the quire, facing the Chicheley gate, until displaced by the present throne in 1844. Tenison was succeeded by William Wake in 1715, and this precise and scholarly prelate was resolved to be enthroned in style with all the ancient precedents observed. So the Dean and Chapter petitioned the Crown for the right to elect, received the conge d' elire on December 31st, duly elected Wake on January 5th, and after the confirmation of the election on January 16th in St. Mary le Bow, took their time in preparation for a public enthronement. This did not take place until June 15th which (in the days before central heating made cathedrals tolerable places to worship in during winter months) was perhaps just as well.

On the great day, the Archbishop arrived and robed in the Consistory Court under the north-west tower. (Since the Palace had long been in ruins and unfit for archiepiscopal habitation he probably stayed with the Dean according to the custom of that age).

He was then escorted in procession up the Nave by the Dean (Dr. Stanhope) and the Vice-Dean to the Tenison throne where the royal mandate for enthronement was read by a Notary Public and the Archdeacon enthroned him. Morning Prayer was then sung and one of the prebendaries preached a sermon; after this the Dean and the Vice-Dean escorted him to the east end of the Presbytery and placed him by the Marble Chair (still in its traditional position) in which he was duly enthroned by the Archdeacon of Canterbury, after which the procession went down to the Dean's stall where he was again installed by the Archdeacon. Then, after the singing of Te Deum with choir and organ, and versicles and responses and collect, the procession of the Foundation went to the Chapter House where the Archdeacon concluded his duties by placing the new Primate in the Prior's seat, all then making the oath of canonical obedience.

Dr. Wake, with astounding energy after this lengthy proceeding, held a formal visitation of the Dean and Chapter next day, preached in the cathedral the day after that, and also entertained the Mayor and Corporation to dinner before proceeding on June 19th to begin a visitation of his diocese, deanery by deanery.

His successors were typical Hanoverian prelates, by contrast, and no more public enthronements took place in the cathedral for one hundred and forty years. Prebendary Gilbert's account of Archbishop Manners Sutton's enthronement in 1805 makes curious reading in the light of modern enthronements with all their dignity and reverence. "Dr. Nelson (brother of the famous Admiral) was proxy for the Archbishop elect, Dr. Welfitt (Vice-Dean) was proxy for the Archdeacon (Dr. Ratcliffe) and Dr. Walesby and Minor Canon Freeman represented the Dean and Chapter. It was an affair of proxies altogether, and a badly arranged ceremonial . . . The Patriarchal Chair then stood in Becket's Crown. The members of the Choir proceeded by the South and North Aisles to that spot, from which the congregation were excluded. Many rushed up to the altar and gazed through the window in the (Altar) Screen and kept their places there when, the procession having returned, the service was resumed. It was altogether a scene of great confusion."

Even the next Archbishop, the devout and scholarly William Howley, was content to be enthroned in the same manner. The great clerical wit Sydney Smith (who was at Winchester College with him) wrote of his "enthronement": "A proxy sent down in the Canterbury fly to take the Creator to witness that the Archbishop, detained in town by business or pleasure, will never violate that foundation of piety over which he presides . . . all this seems to me to be an act of the most extraordinary indolence ever recorded in history."

The old order went out with Howley in 1848 and his successor, Bishop John Bird Sumner, announced his intention of being enthroned in person according to the precedents set by Archbishop Wake. A vast crowd estimated at several thousand turned up for the occasion; for this was the earnest Victorian age and the Church of England was in process of awaking to new life under the impact of Evangelical and Catholic Revivals.

A picture in one of the contemporary papers shows Dr. Sumner in the new Howley throne preaching his enthronement sermon, and from now on some kind of photographic or other visual record of these great occasions exists. One still ponders a little at the odd variations in each recorded enthronement. So when Archbishop Longley was translated from York to Canterbury in 1862 on December 12th, Benedicite is recorded as being sung in Mattins because it was Advent, and since the Archdeacon of Canterbury (Dr. Croft) was too old or infirm to take part, the enthronement was performed by the Archdeacon of Maidstone, the celebrated Tractarian scholar Dr. Benjamin Harrison. The Marble Chair had by now



been moved to the South East Transept where it stayed until 1883, so after going there to place him in his "Cathedra", the procession moved to the Dean's stall and, safely ensconced there, Dr. Longley delivered his sermon from that unusual position, going finally to the Chapter House for the usual oaths of canonical obedience to be made. Dr. Tait's enthronement in February, 1869, followed much the same order. Dr. E. W. Benson, as might be expected from a liturgical expert and a great lover of ceremonial, was enthroned with some unusual touches.

For the first time since the Middle Ages, royalty were represented by the Duke of Edinburgh, and devoted churchpeople wore a spray of lily-of-the-valley which was supposed to be the emblem of St. Thomas Becket. A vast congregation including many bishops and eminent lay folk were present, and the Bishop of Dover (who was also Archdeacon of Canterbury) performed the usual archidiaconal functions while the Venerable Archdeacon Harrison—still in office in this year of Grace 1883—read the second Lesson at Mattins.

By the time Randall Davidson was installed, the Old Palace had been recovered and put in order by Archbishop Frederick Temple, and a place in Canterbury where Archbishops could live and entertain brought the Primates back into the regular life of the place, and made it possible for them to participate in cathedral services and ceremonial on almost a mediaeval scale. So Davidson's biographer, Dr. Bell, tells us that the enthronement of this great primate was attended by representatives of the State and twelve bishops when it took place on February 12th, 1903. Greater things than this were to be seen before thirty years had passed in Canterbury. By a happy conjunction of events Davidson's successor, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, was a great and princely figure with a flair for pageantry and ceremonial occasions (perfectly demonstrated at the Coronation of King George VI in the summer of 1937). Since Bell was by then Dean of Canterbury, a great enthronement ceremony was arranged for December 4th, 1928, the anniversary of the consecration of St. Anselm as Archbishop. Ancient precedents were looked up, eminent liturgical scholars consulted, and as a result of much research some important changes were made which have had a lasting effect on nearly half a century of subsequent enthronements. The Marble Chair was moved from the Corona (not, alas, to its proper place at the head of the steps leading to the Trinity Chapel), but to the head of the steps at the east end of the Nave leading up to the Pulpitum or Quire Screen; a magnificent spot where a great congregation in the Nave could see the enthronement. Special music was written for the occasion, including a new *Te Deum* by Dr. Vaughan Williams, and a compromise was arranged by which the Archdeacon enthroned the Primate in the Howley throne and the Dean's stall, while the Dean (following the precedent of mediaeval priors) placed him in the Marble Chair and installed him in the Chapter House seat. Bell and his chapter worked tirelessly to make this the most magnificent of Post Reformation



occasions, inviting representatives of the government, the arts, the universities, and world churches on a truly ecumenical basis and scale. For the first time neither Mattins nor the Eucharist provided the liturgical setting; for the processions, enthronements, and the sermon by the Archbishop were rightly thought to be enough for one morning. A nice new touch was added by the giving of a blessing to the City by the new Primate standing on a platform outside the west front on his way to the Chapter House ceremony.

When the next Archbishop, William Temple, was installed in April, 1942, the Second World War was raging; Lambeth Palace had been bombed and the great raids on Canterbury were only a few weeks off. But as in 1928, a vast congregation assembled in the cathedral with many bishops, and the full ceremonial was observed. The age of mitred bishops and coped cathedral dignitaries had now come round again, and the mediaeval atmosphere which would have seemed strange to Victorian primates was enhanced by the presence of twelve trumpeters who greeted the Archbishop with a fanfare as he entered the west doors, and again when he was installed in the Marble Chair. (A military band from Kneller Hall and the Buffs was much in musical evidence at this enthronement). But on this occasion the Archdeacon enthroned the Primate in the Marble Chair and the Howley Throne, while the Dean placed him in his own stall in the Quire and in the seat in the Chapter House.

Almost exactly three years later, on a bright spring afternoon a few days before the end of the Second World War, the enthronement of Dr. Geoffrey Fisher took place and again a vast and eminent congregation witnessed it. For the first time representatives of the College of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, appeared with the Anglo-Saxon Gospels on which the Archbishop took his corporal oath, and as well as Kneller Hall trumpeters the B.B.C. Orchestra under Sir Adrian Boult provided the accompaniment as the cathedral organ was still away under restoration. The installation in the Dean's stall was performed by the Dean and also the enthronement in the Marble Chair, while the Archdeacon placed Dr. Fisher in the Howley Throne. For the first time the ceremony of the restitution of the Pastoral staff to the new Archbishop appears in the service, the Dean handing this to him on behalf of the Capitular Body who are guardians of the Spiritualities in the vacancy of the See. Once again a great company of bishops headed by the Provincial Officers attended, the Archbishop's chaplains wore blue mantles (a reminiscence of the 1937 Coronation), and a programme note from Gostling's Walk of 1777 reminded the congregation that in the good Minor Canon's time it was possible to write with the proxy ceremonies in mind "Formerly the enthronement was done with much more pomp and magnificence than it is at present".

The enthronement of Archbishop Ramsey on June 27th, 1961, followed the great traditions of the 1940's, only the installation in the Dean's stall now being omitted, and the proceedings ending

happily with tea in the Shirley Hall in lieu of the old banquet in the Palace. Brilliant fanfares, a new Te Deum by Dr. Sidney Campbell the cathedral organist, the Coronation Barons in their scarlet cloaks, the Lord Chancellor in state and members of the Government of the day all conspired to make this a magnificent occasion.

And so to January 24th, 1975, and the enthronement of Dr. Donald Coggan the ninth Archbishop of York to be translated to Canterbury—arguably the most impressive and extraordinary enthronement of them all if one allows for the transmission on colour T.V. of the Service over the whole country, the tremendous and necessary security precautions, the presence of three members of the Royal Family, the leaders of the main political parties, and for the first time since the Middle Ages ended the official representation of the Roman Catholic Church by the Apostolic Delegate, three cardinals and the Abbot of Bec among other dignitaries. The ceremony of knocking on the West Door which at recent enthronements seems to have been done at Canterbury by the Keeper of the Christ Church Gate with his silver-headed cane was performed this time by the Lord Archbishop in person (following the custom of York Minster), and to this novel touch were added the splendid new copes of the canons and gowns of the vergers and a new cope and mitre for the Primate himself to add visual glory and colour to the proceedings, while the reception of the Archbishop on the Pulpitum steps by the representatives of other religious bodies in England, and a blessing for him from the Archbishop of Kenya, provided something fresh to add to the traditional ceremonial. Finally, a moving sermon from the Throne in the Quire, splendid singing from the Choir, and thrilling fanfares from the members of the Philip Jones Brass Ensemble, clad all in scarlet, helped to make this an unforgettable day. The end of it all was a very English tea party of a most informal character in the Norman Crypt for the many visitors from all over the world who came as guests of the Dean and Chapter. This surely would have delighted the hearts of those austere monastic prelates, Lanfranc and Anselm, whose spirits one hopes were hovering somewhere around both Undercroft and Cathedral on this most historic and happy day.

D. INGRAM HILL.



### **The Greyfriars**

The remaining part of the first English Franciscan Friary built in Canterbury in 1226 A.D.

## SERMON PREACHED IN THE CATHEDRAL— 750TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRANCISCANS IN ENGLAND

On 10th September, 1224, 750 years ago last Tuesday, a little group of nine men, ragged, barefoot, landed on our English shores at Dover.

It was nine years after Magna Carta.

Honorius III was Pope in Rome.

And the young Henry III was King of England.

On that same day Francis knelt solitary at prayer on Mount La Verna where, in a few days time, his life was to be sealed by the imprint on his hands and feet and side of the sufferings and death of his Master, Jesus Christ.

It was the beginning of the long and wonderful story of the English Franciscans, a story still in the telling. Today in Celebration, we turn to God in thanksgiving and in joy.

It was Francis himself who had sent his friars to England—the English had figured in his vision when he had seen a great multitude coming to follow his way of life—Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans and English. And one of my early memories is of a copy of the La Verna fresco in the refectory at Forest Gate, showing Agnellus of Pisa holding in his hands the “Obedience”, bidding him to lead the friars to England. With Agnellus were three Englishmen—Richard of Ingworth, elderly and a priest; Richard of Devon, a young cleric; and William of Ashby, a novice; and there were four other Italians and a Frenchman.

After one adventurous night locked up at Dover as vagrants and probable spies, they set off next day for Canterbury where they were warmly received by the Benedictine monks of Fecamp at the Priory of the Holy Trinity. Two days later they divided and four set off for London, settling at Cornhill. Within about a month some of them went on to Oxford. Next it was Cambridge; then Norwich, Worcester, Hereford, York, Lincoln. By 1255, Thomas of Eccleston tells us there were 49 friaries and over 1,200 friars, all in the space of about 30 years. Inevitably, they met with some resistance—a monk chronicler who doesn't seem to have cared much for the friars has an entry under 1224: “In that same year, O Misery, O more than Misery, O cruel Scourge, the Friars Minor came to England!”

Agnellus, their leader, insisted on building the smallest houses and living a life of joyous poverty in simplicity and even hardship and discomfort. When the friars got too ambitious at Southampton, he angered the townspeople by pulling down a lovely stone cloister they had built. He tried to do the same with a fine chapel at Reading, but was stopped because the King had built it. “In that case”, he



said, "I hope God will destroy it". Agnellus lived in England for 12 years, dying at Oxford in 1236; he was the first English confessor to be beatified since the Reformation.

The friars continued to grow in numbers and in influence—helped by the social and political changes in the country. The drift of the people to the towns had begun: the young Universities were attracting thousands of lively young minds and it was in the towns—usually in the poorer parts—and in the Universities that the friars were mostly to be found. There were giants among them.

Alexander of Hales, one of the first of the Schoolmen, John Duns Scotus, the subtle doctor, William Occam the father of modern logic, Roger Bacon, mathematician and physicist, often called the father of Modern Science. And in this place let us not forget John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

But the ordinary friar was among the people about the town, preaching, ministering to the poor, the sick, the needy—"the wheels of God's chariot", Peckham called them. There was no better known or better loved figure in mediaeval England than the friar of St. Francis. So great was the reputation of the early English Franciscans that when John of Parma, Minister General of the Order, visited England in 1250, he said: "How I wish that a province such as this could be set in the centre of the world and provide an example to the whole Order."

Let us praise God today for these men—lowly, poor, joyous and holy.

Let us praise God, too, for those other friars who after the dissolution of the monasteries suffered imprisonment and death for their faith: when our beloved Order was driven underground and when our fathers had to go over the seas for education and formation and prayer and returned to their own land to a life of hiding and skulking and pursuit.

And let us praise God that by his Goodness there has been no day in the past 750 years when the Franciscans have not been in this land. For when the blood transfusion came from Belgium in the 1860's there was still a little group of elderly friars left in England, one of them a bishop, and it was another one of them, Paschal O'Farrell, who handed the seals of the ancient province over to the new men who were to build up Francis' church which was falling into ruin.

Soon the other Franciscan families returned: then came our brothers of the Anglican Communion with their freshness of spirit and their Franciscan insights. Truly, we are the sons of Saints—and we meet here today to Celebrate our fathers and to pledge ourselves anew to the Franciscan spirit. And through us this spirit must be interpreted faithfully and realistically in terms of the world today.



Fr. Constantine Koser, the Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor, sees the problem that lies here: "The world believes that St. Francis is a modern man", he says, "but not so all his followers". And he goes on: "Francis, in his conversion, broke away from the System of the day. His conversion-breakaway cost him dear: standard of living, comfort, worldly position, goods, home, family, friends, the security of the tried and true. But it did indeed put him outside the system and gave him a chance to assume an active role in fashioning the new world. Stripping himself before the Bishop not only marked a turning point in his life, but also revealed to him a whole new world and a new direction".

Zeffirelli in his film, *Brother Son, Sister Moon*, means the same thing when amid the almost barbaric splendour of his rich fellow citizens on Easter Sunday morning, he makes Francis rise and shout: "No!"

Outside the system: a whole new world: a new direction. Francis could not and did not accept the values, the ways of contemporary society. Is this our call, living in the acquisitive society? Our lives must be Franciscan in their poverty, simplicity and joy. We must be witnesses to Francis as he was to Christ. BUT MORE. Is it not our duty to challenge and reject "the system of the day"? Should not our voice ring out clear and unmistakable, saying what Francis said?

I wonder whether the key to Francis' life is to be found in the very first pages of the Bible, the Book of Genesis, with its simple mythological account of the long, slow process of creation. It describes how God created light and darkness; sea and land; plants, flowers, trees, great lights in the sky; beasts and birds; and then finally man himself, to His own image and likeness. And after each phase in the creative work, the narrative pauses and there comes the refrain "And God saw that it was good". Francis saw God in all creation: and therefore goodness in all creation. That is the key to his life.

Almost from the beginning there have been two theories amongst Christians. One seems to suggest that the world is evil and dangerous—in fact that there are two worlds, the world of the spirit which is of God, and the world of the flesh, gross, material and evil, which is of the devil. The spirit is imprisoned in the flesh and sighs for liberation, for freedom and for escape. And this led many Christians to believe that everything connected with the world and material things must be feared and abandoned. The only hope was in the wilderness or in seclusion. Holiness dwelt in monasteries.

But many others believed that hidden in this notion is something very like a blasphemy against the creative work of God. Sin and evil are indeed rife in the world and have been so from the beginning, but life itself is good and the world that God made is a good world. For Francis the world was good and sang of God's goodness. He had a fellow-feeling for all created things and, in his famous song,

he called on sun and moon and hills and the sea and the birds and the animals to raise their voices with him in a great song of praise for Him from whom they had all equally come.

I think he was beginning to have a glimmering of the deepest, most profound aspect of love. Love is union and creation and giving. But love can soon move on to a violent desire to possess and to retain, to dominate, to enclose and to exclude, to gather in and never let go.

The discovery that Francis made was the discovery of love without possession or mastery. He strode through this glorious world loving all the time and possessing nothing, asking for no control, no security, no promises for tomorrow. He opened his hands and let everything fall away.

### Renunciation—and Reconciliation.

Francis was a man of peace. So too were our English Franciscans. A few years after he arrived Agnellus was sent by the King to some of the Nobles to try and prevent a civil war. And a few years later a group of English friars was sent by the Bishops as ambassadors of peace to the Emperor Frederick. The friars were known as men of peace.

“Blessed are the peacemakers.” How badly they are needed today: Vietnam, poor Vietnam; Turks and Greeks in Cyprus; Arabs and Jews in the Holy Land; Northern Ireland. And at home: racial divisions, industrial discord, political strife: and a deep fear of what lies ahead. Is there no word here for the Franciscan to speak? Humbly, in deep understanding and in love. We are called to be ministers of reconciliation. “Blessed are the peacemakers. They shall be called the children of God.”

Discovery for Francis began when he stripped off his clothes before the Bishop. His love of God, and union with God, burst through in the solitude and prayer of La Verna. Everything begins for him in his life with God. His brotherhood with all creation begins there.

He loved all creation. He loved the broad and wide community of men. Most of all, he loved the Church—just as he found her. Not that he closed his eyes to defects, to stain, to degeneracy; on the contrary, nobody was more sensitive to these things than Francis. Seeing them, he set out to reform them by love, not by agitation. And his love did succeed. It would succeed again.

FR. AGNELLUS ANDREW.

## WOODCUT PORTRAITS OF EDWARD VI IN CANTERBURY AND AMSTERDAM

There is a portrait of King Edward VI in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury that is of special interest to us in Amsterdam as it is attributed by Campbell Dodgson (*The Connoisseur*, September, 1935) to the Amsterdam painter and woodcutter Cornelis Anthonisz or Teunisse. Most of the woodcuts by Anthonisz are in Amsterdam, but the Canterbury portrait is a unique impression and larger than our extensive series of portraits. Dodgson describes the sadly mutilated state of the Canterbury woodcut and its faded colours. The impression now measures  $47 \times 32.5$  cms. but it may originally have measured  $57 \times 37$  cms. It has been clipped on all sides and there is a portion missing in the middle where the print has been cut through. Unfortunately it has been rejoined without the missing portion so that the figure is now too short and out of balance.

Dodgson compares the Canterbury woodcut to a painting at Windsor by a follower of Holbein, and also to another woodcut of the prince that Dr. Beets had convincingly ascribed to Anthonisz dated 1547, which has a companion portrait of Henry VIII. Both were issued in 1547. On the basis of these two woodcuts, Dodgson ascribed the Canterbury portrait to Anthonisz whose manner he recognised in the drawing of the prince's head.

It is true that the head is well drawn and after the manner of Anthonisz, but the treatment of the body is different and lacks the grandeur displayed in his other works. The patterns are flat and linear, there is no volume, no falling of folds around the figure, no interpretation of glossy material. It is, however, no mean portrait and contains elements of both the Windsor portraits combined by another hand.

Dodgson dated the Canterbury portrait around 1552/3 as it is obviously later than the painting it resembles. Edward wears a bonnet of a later type; his face is older and thinner and in sharp contrast to the young, plump boyish face and slimmer figure of the earlier Windsor painting which he thought was executed when Edward was Prince of Wales. The painter of the Windsor portrait is uncertain, but may perhaps be one of the Flemish masters who had worked in England. The Canterbury portrait is not by Anthonisz, in spite of the excellent head.

Recently information has come to light that Cornelis Anthonisz was born in 1507 and was the grandson of Jacob Cornelisz, a famous painter and woodcutter of Amsterdam. He lived and worked in Amsterdam where he died between 1553-1556. Authentic portraits show that he was a versatile artist with an open eye. His equestrian figures are unequalled for their accurate observation, so unusual at the time, of fine horses and stylish riding.

Campbell Dodgson aptly wrote of "a Netherlandish manufacture of portraits" in which Anthonisz had a major share, and I have recently endeavoured to define Anthonisz' share in this "portrait manufactory" and to account for the numerous variants that remained, including that at Canterbury which I did not see until last summer. During his lifetime his portraits were issued in Antwerp in a series that contains other work as well. Of that series thirty-nine different portraits have survived and are now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Over thirty were printed by Hans Lieftrinck, and six by Silvestre de Paris, both professional cutters. The collection belonged to the Duke of Gotha and has a famous history that goes back to the Emperor Rudolph II in Prague. The portraits are hand-coloured, usually unique impressions and comprise equestrian and full-length figures including two half-length companion portraits of Edward VI and his father.

The Amsterdam series is of uniform size and all the portraits are datable between 1538-1552, the period during which Anthonisz was active. The provenance of the Canterbury portrait is not known but its appearance suggests that it was printed in Antwerp.

In the Amsterdam Catalogue, *Woodcut Portraits*, 1972, I quoted a document, dated August, 1543, in which Hans Lieftrinck states that he has cut portraits of the Emperor (Charles V), his commanders and courtiers in the country and his adversaries in the war from models of high repute obtained at his own cost. His cutting, he says, is done with the utmost care to the design and is certainly of the best. His prints are superior and he humbly begs the Emperor for a privilege against pirate editions.

To be sure, some of the equestrian portraits he produced are copies of those that were reprinted in Amsterdam at a later date. These portraits were recopied and published in Nuremberg. Side by side with authentic portraits or copies, Lieftrinck and his companion edited many variants, all in their own name and for their own benefit. The enterprise was a success and both printers obtained a privilege, but Anthonisz appears to have contributed no portraits to their series after he executed those of Edward VI and Henry VIII in 1547. The Canterbury woodcut is later, and if Anthonisz is excluded, the obvious person responsible would be Hans Lieftrinck who began his career by editing woodcut portraits by and after Anthonisz at the age of twenty, as soon as he was admitted to the Antwerp Guild in 1538.

Lieftrinck was no innovator, but he might have drawn a number of the variants he issued in the name of Anthonisz. Even the equestrian figures he copied and reprinted in Amsterdam appeared with different heads from those that were first cut. In the German copies the heads differ again. In fact the practice of adding new heads to existing bodies is of ancient origin and was widely copied. Usually the heads revert to an existing portrait. Lieftrinck could find more pictures of the princes and ladies concerned in Antwerp than

Anthonisz in Amsterdam, and many a true likeness may be due to his intervention. Two drawings in the British Museum bear his name and are copies of portrait heads by Francis Clouet.

There may, however, be another way to explain why the Canterbury portrait is a *pastiche* of earlier woodcuts by Anthonisz. The last woodcut signed and dated by him in 1553 was printed in Amsterdam and represents the siege of Therouanne *nat leeven*, that is, from life. Anthonisz is supposed to have drawn it on the spot in 1553, and it is just possible that he passed through Antwerp and made a quick sketch of the head for Lieftrinck. Edward died on 6th July in that year and if the portrait was not produced on the spot, it was certainly supposed to have been. It is noteworthy that it has certain attitudes in common with a later painting of King Edward once at Chateau d'Azay but auctioned by Petit in 1901, no. 21, which itself may derive from the Windsor painting and perhaps from the woodcut of 1553 of which the last impression survives in Canterbury.

MRS. A. J. KLANT.

(as interpreted by ANNE M. OAKLEY).



## THE DEANS' CHAPEL AND ITS MONUMENTS

One of the unsung glories of the cathedral is its monuments. Few churches or cathedrals can rival Canterbury in the number or magnificence of their monuments. In Canterbury they are to be found in every part of the building but in only one place are they so prominent as to have changed the name of that place.

In 1455 Prior Thomas Goldstone completed the rebuilding of the chapel east of the martyrdom. It was, and is, a very beautiful chapel notable for its fan-vaulting and the elaborate stone screen through which it is entered. It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but was not known by name as a Lady chapel for any length of time. Not many years after Goldstone's death the monastery was abolished and a Dean and Chapter set up. For some reason unknown the custom soon was established that deans and their families should be buried in Goldstone's chapel and so it became the Deans' chapel.

Not only were deans buried there but also elaborate memorials were erected to their memories and placed on or against the walls of the chapel in a way that brooked no interference by delicate mediaeval tracery. The sturdy monuments of the age of Tudors and Stuarts looked back for their inspiration to classical times. They had as little sympathy with mediaeval carving as the deans whom they memorialised had with the doctrines professed by Prior Goldstone, and so, where necessary, the stone was hacked away without mercy. The monuments did not so much grace the chapel as usurp it.

Our age is one of reconciliation. We appreciate the beauty both of mediaeval stone and of renaissance monument. So when two Friends made available to the Dean and Chapter a sum of money for some piece of restoration, it seemed a good thing to attempt some re-ordering and restoration in the Deans' chapel. The object was to bring the monuments in the Deans' chapel into better harmony with their surroundings and to replace such of the mediaeval stonework as had been broken or partially cut away. The work has involved the re-siting of two monuments. The monument to Dean Bargrave has been placed on a blank wall on the south side of the chapel, and the column above a window on the north side, which had been cut back to make the original place for it, has been restored. Also the monument to Dean Turner, which was set on the east wall of the chapel, and was so large that the lower part of the window had had to be filled in to form a background for it, has been removed and placed on a plain wall. This has meant that the brick filling in the window could be removed and the window lowered to its original level. The two parts of the frieze of carved angels that were destroyed in the original fixing of the monument have been replaced, and a part of the frieze whose existence was unknown, has been discovered

hidden behind the centre of the monument. The chapel has been cleaned as well as restored and soon, when the work is complete, all will be able to judge for themselves its worthwhileness.

The monuments also are being cleaned and are particularly interesting. They memorialise most of the early Deans of Canterbury. Dean Wotton, the first dean, has his monument in the Trinity chapel, and Dean Nevill, the fourth dean had, because of family connections, his monument in one of the chantry chapels of the nave which was removed at the end of the 18th century. Otherwise the Deans' chapel contains memorials to most of the deans who were not elevated to the episcopate and so memorialised in their own cathedrals. Some of the memorials in the Deans' chapel are very fine. To the right of the altar is a magnificent alabaster monument to John Boys, the sixth dean. His name is given on it in the Latinised form, *Johannis Boissius*. He was dean from 1619-1625. He died suddenly in his study at the early age of 54. This may be the reason why the memorial has a life-size figure of the dean sitting in his study with his face turned heavenwards away from the book he has been reading.

To the right is the monument to Isaac Bargrave who was Boys' successor, 1625-1643. This memorial contains a portrait of the dean painted on copper. Bargrave had an eventful life. He was also vicar of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and chaplain to King Charles I. This may have led to his being a particular target for the parliamentarians. At all events a company of them under one Colonel Sandys, descended upon Canterbury in 1642. They vandalised the cathedral and roughly treated the Bargrave family in the Deanery. Bargrave was away from home, but was later arrested at Gravesend and thrown into the Fleet prison in London for a time. No charges were preferred and he was after some weeks released, but he died in the following January. His heart was said to have been broken by what had happened to his country, his cathedral and his person.

George Aglionby, a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, was appointed by the king to succeed Bargrave, but died before he could take up the appointment. The king then appointed Thomas Turner whose monument is now fixed on the north wall of the chapel facing Bargrave's. Turner was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, when Laud was its president. Laud when bishop of London made him his domestic chaplain and then canon of St. Paul's. In 1641 he was appointed Dean of Rochester and in 1643 preferred to Canterbury. He was regarded, not unnaturally, as an enemy by the parliamentarians. He was taken prisoner by a band of them and was not installed as dean until the Restoration in 1660.

The oddest monument in the chapel is the table tomb beneath Dean Bargrave's monument. It is the tomb of Charles Fotherby, the fifth dean. He was only dean for a short period, 1615-1619, but this was the culmination of a much longer career in and around Canterbury. He had been Archdeacon of Canterbury since 1595

and saw no reason to vacate that office when he became dean. He also succeeded Richard Hooker as vicar of Bishopsbourne. Fotherby's tomb is unique in that it is decorated with skulls and bones. Perhaps it was considered that one who had been so willing to accept preferment needed to be reminded of the transitoriness of life. Whether that is so or not, the tomb is a fine, if unusual monument.

Opposite to Fotherby's tomb and beneath Turner's monument there is a much plainer tomb. It is that of Richard Rogers, the third dean, 1584-1597. He was also Master of the Eastbridge Hospital and the last Suffragan Bishop of Dover until that See was revived in 1870. One other tomb close by is worthy of note. It is marked by a simple stone in the floor and so has none of the grandeur of the others which have been mentioned. However, it is of interest, and not merely because it marks the grave of a man who was not a dean of Canterbury. In fact this man seems never to have held any office in the cathedral. It is the tomb of James Wedderburn. Wedderburn was a Scot, born in 1585 and educated in St. Andrews University. He did hold some offices in England during small periods of his life but his main work lay in his native country. He was Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews and then Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal in Scotland. He was a supporter of Laud and active in introducing the prayer book into Scotland. For this and other offences he fell foul of the Presbyterian Synod of Glasgow and as "Mr. James Wedderburn pretendit Bischope of Dunblane" was condemned for the crimes "generall to all bischopes, Arminianism, popery and drunkennesse". He had to seek refuge in England and probably chose to live in Canterbury because of his friendship with Laud and the fact that he had been tutor to Meric Casaubon who was a canon of the cathedral. He died in 1639 and the place of his burial indicates that he must have been held in high honour by the cathedral body.

Such then are some of the monuments in the Deans' chapel. They are worth looking at, both for themselves and for the memory of the men whom they commemorate.

JOSEPH ROBINSON.



*The tomb of Charles Fotherby—5th Dean of Canterbury, 1615-19*





FRIENDS' DAY

Saturday  
21st June      PROGRAMME:  
QUIRE  
11.00 a.m.      Sung Eucharist

12.30-1.45 p.m.  
MARQUEE IN      Cold Buffet Luncheon.  
DEANERY GARDEN

2.00 p.m.      Annual Meeting welcoming the Archbishop  
EASTERN CRYPT      as new President.

2.45 p.m.      Dedication of a Cloister Bay restored in  
GREAT CLOISTER      memory of Muriel Mount.

3.15 p.m.      Festal Evensong.  
QUIRE

4.30 p.m.      Informal Tea.  
MARQUEE IN  
DEANERY GARDEN

The Library Exhibition and Chapter House Youth Exhibition,  
both on "The Living Cathedral", will be open from noon to  
5.00 p.m. to those Friends wishing to visit them.

TICKETS REQUIRED:

----- @ 80p. for lunch  
----- @ 20p. for tea  
----- @ NO CHARGE for admission to special seats at  
----- Services, to Meeting, Exhibitions, etc.

Payment advice: -----  
-----

Note: It has been necessary to hire a Marquee for 1975  
at higher than past years' costs. If anybody  
would like to make a modest contribution on a  
purely voluntary basis, please indicate here -----

FRIENDS' AUTUMN EVENING

Thursday  
18th September  
6.30-9.00 a.m.  
CHAPTER HOUSE  
CATHEDRAL &  
PRECINCTS

PROGRAMME:  
Buffet Supper with wine/soft drinks/  
coffee.  
Music arranged by Dr. Allan Wicks.  
There will be a Lecture/Lectures and  
guided visits, but precise details  
cannot be given at this stage.  
The Cathedral will be lit and open to  
Friends only until 9.00 p.m.

TICKETS REQUIRED:

----- @ £1.00. Payment advice: -----  
-----

SUMMER ARTS 1975

Full details of this programme, including ticket prices,  
etc., will not be available in time to circulate with  
this Supplement, but the following information may help  
many Friends' summer planning.

Concerts/performances affecting the Cathedral are:-

9th May	Harpisichord & Flute Recital
7th June	Summer Serenade by Cathedral Choir
12th June	Canterbury Singers
17th June	Stour Music
5th July	Canterbury Choral Society
9th-16th July	Kings Week
12th July	London Pro Musica
19th July	Organ & Orchestral Recital
26th July	Philomusica of London
31st July	Kent Youth Orchestra
9th August	Organ Recital
23rd August	Organ Recital
30th August	R.S.C.M. Concert

Please contact the Friends Office nearer dates of  
concerts for further details.

PLS. AND RETURN AS SOON AS PRACTICAL

RIENDS' AUTUMN EVENING

Saturday

21st June

QUIRE

11.00 a.m.

PROGRAMME:

Buffet Supper with wine/soft drinks/  
coffee.

Music arranged by Dr. Allan Wicks.

There will be a Lecture/Lectures and  
guided visits, but precise details  
cannot be given at this stage.

The Cathedral will be lit and open to  
Friends only until 9.00 p.m.

12.30-1.45 p.m.

MARQUEE IN

DEANERY GARDEN

2.00 p.m.

EASTERN CRYPT

0. Payment advice: \_\_\_\_\_

2.45 p.m.

GREAT CLOISTER

3.15 p.m.

QUIRE

SUMMER ARTS 1975

his programme, including ticket prices,  
available in time to circulate with  
but the following information may help  
mer planning.

4.30 p.m.

MARQUEE IN

DEANERY GARDEN

The Library Exhibnces affecting the Cathedral are:-

both on "The Liv

5.00 p.m. to the

TICKETS REQUIRED

----- @ 80p

----- @ 20py

----- @ NO

Ser

Harpsichord & Flute Recital

Summer Serenade by Cathedral Choir

Canterbury Singers

Stour Music

Canterbury Choral Society

Kings Week

London Pro Musica

Organ & Orchestral Recital

Philomusica of London

Kent Youth Orchestra

Organ Recital

Organ Recital

R.S.C.M. Concert

Note: It has been  
at higher

would like Friends Office nearer dates of  
purely voher details.

FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

**BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS**

30th SEPTEMBER, 1975

## NOTES TO THE GENERAL FUND

	Year ended 30/9/75	Year ended 30/9/74
	£	£
1. GENERAL FUND — OFFICE OVERHEAD EXPENSES		
Rates, Water and Insurance ... ..	344	18
Light, Heat and Cleaning ... ..	270	23
Printing and Stationery ... ..	197	41
Postage ... ..	324	31
Telephone ... ..	83	6
Office Repairs and Alterations ... ..	—	9
Equipment: Repairs and Renewals ... ..	47	7
Depreciation ... ..	59	5
Travel ... ..	345	29
Accountancy ... ..	241	17
Miscellaneous ... ..	78	11
	<u>£1,988</u>	<u>£2,02</u>
2. GIFTS TO CATHEDRAL		
Glassworks ... ..		4,60
General Fabric Maintenance ... ..		50
	<u>£ —</u>	<u>£5,10</u>
3. DONATIONS TO APPEAL FUND	<u>£1,448</u>	<u>—</u>

## NOTES TO THE BALANCE SHEET

4. OFFICE EQUIPMENT		
Cost less Depreciation at 30/9/74 ... ..	496	25
Additions during year ... ..	99	29
	<u>595</u>	<u>55</u>
Less : Depreciation at 10% ... ..	59	5
Cost less Depreciation at 30/9/75 ... ..	<u>£536</u>	<u>£49</u>
5. CLOISTER BAYS FUND		
Income: Subscriptions and Donations ... ..	200	200
Interest (Notional) ... ..	187	158
	<u>387</u>	<u>358</u>
Accumulated Fund at start of year ... ..	2,129	1,77
Transfer of Margaret Babington Memorial Fund		
(Capital + Interest) ... ..	1,057	—
Accumulated Fund at end of year ... ..	<u>£3,573</u>	<u>£2,12</u>



ANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
**CHRONICLE**  
**1976**





# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

*First Friend on the Roll :*  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

*President :*  
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, P.C., D.D.

*Vice-Presidents :*  
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HENRY MOORE, ESQ., O.M., C.H., F.B.A., A.R.I.B.A.

*Chairman of the Council :*  
THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY (The Very Reverend Ian White-Thomson)

*Honorary Treasurer :*  
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*Steward :*  
JOHN NICHOLAS, ESQ.

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*Representative of Drama :* Dame Sybil Thorndike, C.H., D.MUS.

# THE CANTERBURY CHRONICLE

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NUMBER 70

APRIL 1976

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## EDITORIAL

Six years ago the Friends of the Cathedral commemorated the eight hundredth anniversary of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas by the issue of a special edition of the Chronicle containing a number of relevant articles by eminent writers who were authorities on various aspects of mediaeval history and art. This year sees the six hundredth anniversary of the death and burial in the Cathedral of one of its most famous friends, Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales, commonly known as Edward the Black Prince, and though the high cost of publication now makes the issue of a Chronicle on the 1970 scale an uneconomic proposition it still seems desirable to mark the anniversary with a special series of articles related to the Black Prince and his times.

Canon D. I. Hill contributes a general article on the connection of the Prince with Canterbury and we have been able to persuade Mr. John Harvey, one of the great authorities on this period, to write about the Prince and the artists who worked for him at one time or another. The Prince married Joan Holland, the Fair Maid of Kent, and in the following century the connection of Canterbury with the Hollands caused the rebuilding of the chapel of St. Michael in the South West Transept as a resting place for Lady Margaret Holland and her two aristocratic husbands, while earlier in that century King Henry IV who dethroned (and possibly had murdered) the Black Prince's son, Richard II, was buried in a resplendent tomb a few feet from his victim's father. Mr. Francis Woodham, who is one of our Council of Friends and a student at the Courtauld Institute, has contributed an article on the Holland tomb and Mr. Cecil Humphrey-Smith, director of the Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies in Canterbury, a weighty article on the tomb of King Henry IV and its heraldry, of which he has made a study over many years.

The Black Prince might have gone down to history as the very perfect gentle knight of Chaucerian tradition if it had not been for the tragic events of the siege of Limoges. On this occasion the Prince, in the throes of the illness which was to destroy him, watched the massacre of the entire population from his litter despite the appeals for mercy from men, women, and children. In a very interesting article Colonel Whitehead has sought to explain this blot on the fame of a heroic figure.

Just as this number went to press the editors were delighted to receive from Mr. D. H. Turner, a deputy keeper of the British Library, Reference Division, department of manuscripts, an article on the 'Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas' which has just been acquired by the Library from a private collection and gives a fascinating account of the Shrine and the cult centred on it,

drawn up by two monks who were its custodians in the mid fifteenth century.

With the usual review of the past year's activities by our chairman, the Dean, and other information of interest to the Friends we think this edition of the Chronicle should be well up to the standard now expected of this publication after nearly fifty years of existence.

We apologise for the omission of issue numbers on the April 1974 and 1975 Chronicles. These should have been respectively Numbers 68 and 69.



## REVIEW APRIL 1975/76

This has been a year of development for The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral in several ways; development in the sense that changes in the composition of The Friends' Council, added to increasing awareness of the importance of The Friends' future role in the Cathedral's life as the current Appeal draws to its close, have led naturally to formulation of important new plans designed to culminate in a great and evident resurgence of Friends' activities and purposes by 1977, the Jubilee Year of the foundation of the Society in 1927.

For several years past, membership of The Friends, whilst successfully maintaining and somewhat increasing the Society's annual income thanks to many members' generosity in increasing their subscriptions to match inflation, has failed to increase in numbers and presently stands at a considerably lower figure than it did 20 and more years ago.

The Friends' Management Council has consequently set itself the task of trebling present membership to around 10,000 by 1977, and I would ask each of you who read this Chronicle to do all you can to assist this aim by introducing new Friends to Canterbury. The annual subscription means so much and costs so little, and 10,000 enrolled Friends are but a tiny fraction of the millions throughout the world who feel friendship in their hearts for this, the Mother Church of Christianity in the English-speaking world. Without many more members it will be impossible for the Society to fulfil its hope of playing a major part in "keeping safe" for future generations all that the present Appeal seeks to "make safe" through the achievement of its £3½ million target.

In this 600th Anniversary Year of the death of The Black Prince, himself so markedly a Friend of Canterbury, it is appropriate that we should remind ourselves in broad terms of the objectives of The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral as defined in our Constitution:

The Friends are a body of people who, through payment of an annual subscription, give tangible expression to their wish to assist and advise the Dean and Chapter in preserving the fabric, and generally maintaining the Cathedral, its activities and services, ornaments and furnishings. For these purposes we raise funds, and by giving such personal service as may be practical to us do all we can to promote public interest in the Cathedral, its History, and its work.

What better personal service than to join whole-heartedly in your Council's drive for more enrolled Friends of Canterbury.

Each year member Friends and the Friends' Office provide the Cathedral with vital services such as Catering, the guiding of visitors around the Cathedral, the manning of the Cathedral's Information Desk, provision of Box Office facilities for Concerts, etc. Additionally, they make Youth Day and Friends' Day in the summer the happy events they always are. The past year has been no exception in these respects; but it also saw the successful introduction of Friends' Spring and Autumn Evenings.

These are "party" occasions with a glass of wine and buffet supper in the Chapter House, and are to be continued. Tickets, available only to Friends and their guests, need to be limited to a maximum of 150 at a price sufficient to cover costs; but the Evenings have proved to be exceptionally stimulating to a corporate spirit of fellowship; not only socially between individual Friends, but also in relation to Friends' joint endeavours on the Cathedral's behalf.

Before enjoying the splendid supper provided by ladies of the Catering Committee, Friends present on May 7th last heard Mr. Colin Dudley's talk on the Deans' Chapel, and after its normal closing hour moved into the Cathedral to see the restored Chapel and a special display of the 1975 Enthronement Copes arranged by the Vesturer at the High Altar. The Glass restoration Exhibition in the South Transept of the Quire was also open for them to see.

On September 18th the Evening included a talk by Mr. Frederick Cole followed by his personally conducted tour of the Glassworks, and Dr. Allan Wicks held a special choir practice in the Cathedral giving Friends present a clear and fascinating picture of the vast amount of detail and hard work which lies behind the choir's final singing at Services.

Youth Day on June 20th, 1975, with some 800 Corporate School members present, followed the 1974 pattern of a Bar-be-Que lunch in the Water Tower Garden, coming between a series of lively and colourful dramatic performances in the Cathedral by several schools during the day; last year on the subject of "The Living Cathedral through the centuries." There was also an interesting School's Exhibition in the Chapter House.

On Friends' Day, June 21st, members met for luncheon in a marquee in the Deanery garden. After lunch there was the Annual Meeting, dedication of a Cloister Bay restored in memory of Mrs. Muriel Mount, and Festal Evensong; all attended for the first time by Dr. Donald Coggan as our new Archbishop and President of The Friends.

The Friends' Day meeting last year was held once again in

the Chapter House, bringing happy memories of past Friends' Festival Days to many. This was due to the Crypt being temporarily closed for preparatory work on the "Story of a Cathedral" Exhibition which Lord Clark opened on July 24th. This special Exhibition, admirably mounted by the Appeal organisers, is primarily for the millions of visitors who come to Canterbury each year and is designed to increase their understanding of this great Cathedral, its building, its music, the people who have worked and do work in it, and the part it has played in British history. It is drawing a steady stream of interested visitors, and will, it is hoped contribute substantially to Appeal Funds.

I have to report with deep regret the death of Canon Tom Prichard on August 8th last. His loss is a very real one as he did so much to help the Friends. I am glad to be able to tell you that Mrs. Prichard who, with her lady helpers has also done so much for the Cathedral as Chairman of The Friends' Catering Committee, will be serving on the Friends Council as from 30th June next. From the same June next date, Dr. William Urry, former Archivist of Canterbury Cathedral, and Mr. David Kemp, will also fill Council vacancies, and Mr. Francis Woodman, formerly a co-opted member, has already been elected to the Council proper.

We are very pleased too, that Sir Harry Batterbee, upon his retirement from the Council itself, will be retaining his long association with The Friends in becoming a Vice-President.

Apart from £1,500 contributed through the Friends' Office and in The Friends' name to the Appeal since it opened in December, 1974 (individual members have also given a great deal more by direct gift to the Appeal Office), the Society has also been able to give the Dean and Chapter £4,500 from Friends' subscriptions and donations received to the end of September, 1975 (the closing date of The Friends' financial year). This latter gift is for specific purposes, including restoration of the Cathedral's Mural Paintings; and its size is especially gratifying in that it demonstrates how successfully Friends' Office "overheads" are being kept down despite inflation. An important contributory factor to this satisfactory state of affairs is the ever-increasing use being made by The Friends' Office of help offered voluntarily by member Friends living locally.

So I conclude this review; the last I shall make as Chairman of The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral. I shall be retiring as Dean on May 9th next and this Chronicle takes my warm personal greetings, good wishes, and thanks to Friends all over the world.

IAN H. WHITE-THOMSON.

## CHRIST CHURCH RENEWED

Brief, touristy accounts of Canterbury Cathedral are not hard to come by; equally, the devoted antiquarian will find most of his needs supplied by the great volumes of such past authorities as Somner, or Woodruff and Danks — though he may experience some difficulty in laying hands on copies for his own possession, so scarce have they become. Many people, however, and particularly those associated with the life of the Cathedral or to whom this great church means something special, feel a need for a work which is halfway between the two extremes of ephemeral bittiness and interminable detail. It is for this great majority that Canon Derek Ingram Hill has written *Christ's Glorious Church — The Story of Canterbury Cathedral*, and we can be sure that the result will be warmly welcomed both on its own merits and as an appropriately-timed gesture of homage by one of the Cathedral's most devoted and faithful servants.

To place this modestly-proportioned volume below the great authorities of earlier generations is in no sense to belittle it — indeed, it is merely accepting it at its own valuation. Canon Ingram Hill makes no pretence to have produced an exhaustive account; but his narrative moves with easy pace along a broad, firm road of knowledge, whose deeply-dug foundations are concrete scholarship. Few people could be better-fitted to undertake the task of writing an outline history of the Cathedral, and in one particular respect he is almost uniquely well-qualified — his knowledge of developments in the life of Christ Church during the last half-century is both intimate and encyclopaedic, and covers a part of the story which is both missing from the usual accounts and also of especial interest to today's readers.

Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of Canon Ingram Hill's work is the way in which it highlights the great revival of the Cathedral's life which has taken place during the last 50 years. The highest splendours of the Middle Ages can be matched by the scenes that have been enacted in the Precincts since the last war — above all, perhaps, by the great celebrations of 1970 — and the most substantial achievements of the monastic buildings are being worthily rivalled by the titanic endeavours of modern restorers. In this renewal the Friends of the Cathedral have of course taken an active and prominent part, and Canon Ingram Hill pays due tribute to their contributions.

But this fresh flowering is not a matter merely of material restoration and development; much more important is the inner, spiritual life of the Cathedral community, and its function in the wider world outside the Precincts gates. Canon Ingram Hill would be the last person to give stones or glass or embroidery

or wood-carving a value that was not proportioned to their symbolic significance, and his book brings out with telling clarity the long tension between the spiritual and the material in the history of the Cathedral. Periods of great activity of either sort have often been marked by a neglect of the other quality, but the church has been best served when the impulse to build and the impulse to pray have worked concordantly together, as in the time of the great restoration of the twelfth century. Is it too much to hope that this present great twentieth-century restoration, to which Canon Ingram Hill's book is a fitting adjunct, will also be remembered as a time of high endeavour in all respects, an epoch of harmonious achievements?

M. ST. JOHN PARKER

**Christ's Glorious Church — The Story of Canterbury Cathedral,** by Derek Ingram Hill, with Foreword by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales: S.P.C.K., £1.95.

*Friends wishing to purchase copies of Canon Hill's "Christ's Glorious Church" may do so by completing the Order Form on page 43 and returning it to The Friends' Office, 8 The Precincts, Canterbury. The book is normal paper-back size, and stamped addressed envelopes would be appreciated.*



## EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE —AND CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

After St. Thomas of Canterbury himself no other historical figure is so identified in the public mind with Canterbury Cathedral as Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales, commonly known as the Black Prince. All through his life this famous hero... one of the great military figures of a fierce and cruel age... seems to have cherished a special affection and devotion to the cathedral of Canterbury and it seems fitting that in this year of Grace which sees the sixhundredth anniversary of his death, and his burial in that same cathedral, the annual Chronicle of the Friends should be mostly devoted to a commemoration of the great warrior and some of those who were his contemporaries or descendants.

Born at Woodstock Palace near Oxford in 1330 Prince Edward seems to have appeared in Canterbury for the first time three years later during the Priorate of Dom Richard Oxinden. Royal pilgrimages to the sepulchre of St. Thomas had begun with the famous visit and penance of Henry II and they were to end in 1520 with the sensational appearance of King Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V on Whitsunday just eighteen years before the Shrine was completely destroyed by order of Henry himself. The visit of Edward III and his queen Philippa with their little son Edward was quite a normal one, but like most of these royal occasions very expensive for the Prior and Convent since all the royal personages received expensive presents; the little Prince receiving an alabaster cup worth six shillings. The gift of £10 by the King and of five marks by the Queen must have seemed rather small at the time and it is not recorded whether the Prince made an offering or not. What is certain is that his bequests to the monastery at his death more than atone for the smallness of royal offerings in his lifetime. Five years after this first visit, on the death of Prior Oxinden, Robert Hathbrand became Prior and ruled the Convent for over thirty years. He was one of the great priors of Christ Church and seems to have been much admired and trusted for his holiness by the Plantaganet monarch who is known to have entrusted two of his children to his care. It is not known which of Edward III's famous sons these were, but it is tempting to hope that one of them might have been Prince Edward and to infer from this that his devotion to Canterbury Cathedral began when as a child he lived and was educated under its shadow.

Men and women matured quickly in those days when life was for most folk 'nasty, brutish and short' (to quote a later philosopher), and only thirteen years after his first recorded appearance in Canterbury Edward was the darling of England and the terror of France as a result of his remarkable victory at Crecy.

This seems to have been the first occasion on which he wore black armour, and from this time onwards the colour black seems to have been a favoured one with him so that his numerous servants usually wore a black livery and he himself used the famous heraldic shield with the three ostrich feathers argent on a sable field as his arms 'for peace' from which would seem to have come his famous sobriquet of the 'Black Prince', though in France the use of this title may rather arise from the fear which his name inspired after the victories of Crecy and, ten years later, of Poitiers. It was on this last occasion that King John of France became the captive of the Prince, and some seven months later on the way to London, Prince and captive Sovereign paused at Canterbury on April 19th, 1357, to visit the Shrine of St. Thomas and make their offerings. They then went on to the capital city, the Prince riding on a little black pony. Dean Stanley suggests that the procession may well have paused just outside Canterbury at Harbledown Hospital to venerate the shoe of St. Thomas and perhaps to wash in the well on the slope below the Hospital which has been known for so long as the Black Prince's well. Six years later on the occasion of his marriage at Windsor to his cousin, Joan Holland, the 'Fair Maid of Kent', Prince Edward announced his intention of founding, in the Cathedral Crypt, a double chantry where two priests could serve the altars and pray for the well being of Prince and Princess in their lives and for their souls after death. Since his marriage to his cousin could only take place after a papal dispensation had been granted this foundation may have been the price paid for papal recognition. What is certain is that the Prince had always cherished a special affection for the Cathedral since the foundation charter of the chantries expressly says so, and the fact that he later desired to be buried in the Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft, a few feet from where the chantry altars were placed, suggests a special devotion to this part of the great cathedral church.

The foundation was made with meticulous care, the altars being dedicated to Our Lady and the Blessed Trinity and the two priests being housed in a dwelling just outside the north gate of the monastery in the parish of St. Alphege. This site is still preserved by a modern house called the 'Black Prince's Chantry'. Each priest was to say his daily mass separately but the canonical hours were to be said by the priests together at the altar of the Trinity. To the foundation for its support the Prince gave one of his manors at Vauxhall, not far from the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, and this continued to be the possession of the Dean and Chapter three centuries after the Reformation, and is now administered by the Church Commissioners.

Perhaps the most important outcome of all this was the complete transformation of the south west transept of the Norman Crypt to create this chantry area, and it is instructive to compare the unaltered Romanesque pattern of the corresponding north-west transept with the Black Prince's Chantry. For exactly a century

and a half after the completion of the early gothic quire and Trinity Chapel and the setting up of the Shrine of St. Thomas in the latter, few architectural alterations had been made in the fabric of the Cathedral Church. But with this new work in the Crypt began a century and half of great activity which was to see the rebuilding of the Nave and Western Transepts, Cloisters and Chapter House, South West Tower and finally central Tower and Christ Church Gate. It is fair to assume that the royal architect Henry Yevele was the genius responsible for the remodelling of the transept in the Crypt as the royal Chantry, and that the success of this enterprise caused the monastic chapter, which contained men like Thomas Chillenden, to contemplate and set in hand the great reconstruction and rebuilding of the whole western arm of the church in what we now know as the perpendicular style. It is one of the ironies of history that this chapel of the great conqueror of the French should have been for some long time past the place of worship of the French Huguenot congregation who each Sunday afternoon still offer their prayers and praises to God in the French language under a lovely and complicated vaulted roof which bears the arms of the Prince and, among other devices, a boss showing Samson overthrowing the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass . . . usually supposed to be a reference to the overwhelming victory of the Prince at Poitiers. Rather more attractive are the bosses which show a pelican in her piety feeding her young with blood from her own breast (a reference to the Eucharist popular in the later Middle Ages) and a female head in an elaborate headdress usually thought to be a likeness of Princess Joan herself.

By the time this Chantry was completed, and in use, the Prince's life must have been drawing to its close. Though only forty-six at the time of his death he had been ill for some time as a result of disease contracted during the ill-fated war in Spain on which he embarked in 1367. At his death on Trinity Sunday, June 8th, 1376, he must have supposed that his wish (expressed in his will) to be buried in the Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft ten feet from the altar, would be honoured, and it may have been in expectation of this that he made a number of bequests to that chapel which was splendidly created on the site of an earlier chapel at the east end of the Norman Crypt. It is still to this day one of the most beautiful parts of the whole church, despite the fading of the mural paintings and the mutilation of much of the stonework.

But the Prince's will was not to be observed as he had wished. Between his death and burial, while his body lay in state in Westminster, and the people of England mourned their darling hero and looked apprehensively at the senile old king Edward III who still ruled them, and at the wayward young prince Richard who was to be their future king, the momentous decision was taken to set aside the Prince's will and to bury him in the more conspicuous and popular position that his tomb now occupies close

by the Shrine of St. Thomas in the Trinity Chapel. It may be assumed that once again Henry Yevcle would be called upon to design the royal tomb, and certainly the splendid chest with its latten effigy, iron grille and painted tester, is an ensemble worthy of a great genius in design as well as of a great military hero of royal blood.

There is probably little truth in the story that as he lay dying Prince Edward called for water from the well behind the Hospital at Harbledown, but we may wonder if among his old and faithful servants there were any who recalled, as his funeral cortege passed by the Hospital on its way into Canterbury that Michaelmas six centuries ago, the visit of the young Prince some twenty years before in the splendour of his youth and the pinnacle of his achievements, and thought sadly of the wasted frame now being carried to burial in the Cathedral a mile or so away.

Those who wish to read an account of his funeral can do so in the pages of Dean Stanley's 'Memorials of Canterbury'. It must have been a most magnificent occasion unequalled in the long history of our Cathedral. Not only were the members of the two houses of parliament present, together with all the Court and the Prince's own large household, but many people of great importance in the future history of England and of Canterbury. Among the officiating clergy were two prelates who were in due course to be buried in handsome tombs a few feet from the Prince . . . Archbishop Simon of Sudbury, destined to die five years later, most horribly at the hands of the rebel peasants in the Tower of London, and his successor William Courtenay, at this time Bishop of London. Another prelate present as an executor of the Prince's will was the famous Bishop of Winchester, William of Wykham. Most eminent of the lay barons present was John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, hated by the populace, and whose son Henry, then ten years old, may also have been present. It was this same Henry, who was to dethrone and supplant King Richard II, and at his own death in 1413, to elect to be buried very sumptuously in his turn hard by the tomb of his victim's father.

To the modern visitor to the Cathedral, the family feuds and passionate hatreds of late mediaeval England seem as unimportant and remote as the military victories or defeats of the time. What has survived to delight us today is splendid architecture and those great works of art which commemorate the once illustrious dead, and for this we must be thankful, for if we have lost the golden glittering shrine of St. Thomas we can still admire and enjoy the tombs of great princes and powerful prelates placed in the Trinity Chapel to honour them as benefactors of the priory and its church, and recall that in their day and generation they were in the truest sense of the word 'Friends of Canterbury Cathedral'. None was more so than Edward of Woodstock, the 'Black Prince of Wales', dead these six hundred years, but not forgotten in the Cathedral he loved.

D. INGRAM HILL



## THE TRAGEDY OF LIMOGES

The stain on memories of the Black Prince left by the massacre at Limoges completely contradicts the high ideals of his "Shield of Peace" and the chivalry of the Order of the Garter and makes of him, for those who would otherwise wholly admire him, a figure in history whose high-principled reputation is undeserved because of the lamentable lack of judgement revealed on that single occasion.

Is this fair?

In the first place the usual supposition that the Hundred Years War was fought by the English purely for material gain is discounted by a number of contemporary reviews of the period (published in the late 1960's and early 1970's); among them "Six pays une âme" and dealing with the mediaeval theme of "Harmony through Wisdom" generally propagated later in this country by the Harpers, a fraternity following Celtic ideals derived from remote antiquity, and in France through the Neuf Preux; but which could well have been in embryo and engaging the thoughts of thinking leaders in the Black Prince's time. Accordingly, and at the root of the rapacity and forceful methods characteristic of feudal armies and employed to achieve results, there could have lain an altruistic vision of a united Western Europe based on the ideal of Harmony through Reason. Further, and in the context of the English claim to the French crown being not necessarily avaricious, a Salic law leads ultimately to there being no heir at all (just as the custom of paternal surnames ends in family names dying out); the English claim could have effected a wider harmony dynastically, and had it succeeded how different would have been the course of the next six centuries. In judging motives of the time, therefore, much depends upon the import of the Black Prince's "Shield of Peace" and the "mission" principles it embraced.

If the suggestion that royal motives sprang basically from the embryonic idea of bringing about an eventual united realm of France and England is conceivable, there is justification for contending that with Piers Plowman then declaring, "Reason shall reign, said the King", both Edward III's and the Black Prince's over-riding objective could have been to harness feudal ambition to a higher purpose. In this light the latter's decision "By the soul of my father" to punish the treachery at Limoges appears to be less inspired by personal affront than by this strong sense of "mission"; albeit that in the event and exasperated at being thwarted by treachery, the Black Prince, as a soldier dedicated to the principle that "in war the king *led* his people (under his royal banner) where in peace he *served* them", sanctioned such



a drastic measure as the massacre. At the time he was a sick man who may have felt unconsciously that his life was nearing its end (he died six years later), and that if disloyalty was abroad the rot must be stopped there and then. Disloyalty was also brewing in his own family, and in a man with fine ideals at heart whose strength to achieve them was ebbing, his "ruthlessness" at Limoges is the easier to understand.

The slaughter can never be condoned, but in judging the Black Prince on this issue is it not right to reflect on our own attitude today towards massacres; massacres many times more terrible which we dismiss as our responsibility, with some self-righteousness, as being no fault of our own due to lost national strength. How many instances have not occurred when withdrawal of our protection has been made without the slightest feeling of shame? Weakness stirred the Prince to a sin of commission, but many have been our sins of omission. In abandoning our ideals so readily should we not temper disappointment and harsh judgement at the Black Prince's lapse at Limoges with consideration of the likelihood that his anger probably arose from fear that ideals he had served throughout his life were about to be irrevocably betrayed, and that measures immediately at his disposal in his "soldierly" role were justified to arrest such betrayal.

A lesson of Limoges is that there are ever-present dangers of human weakness and misjudgement in the face of the struggle to adhere to high principles. At Limoges the Black Prince found himself committed to a rough and ready way of punishing betrayal of his cause; a cause in which innocent and guilty suffered alike. The laying of blame cannot be precise, for anyone who acquiesces passively in a betrayal shares in the guilt. His was the cause of "Reason shall reign" then being voiced by Piers Plowman on the basis of common action for the common purpose, and the Bishop of Limoges was betraying that cause through partisanship. How often today we see a similar cause being betrayed by our leaders from sectional self-interest. In remaining silent we share the guilt, and the tragedy of Limoges reminds us above all else that it behoves none of us to tolerate betrayal inertly.

J. G. O. WHITEHEAD

## THE CUSTOMARY OF THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS BECKET

On 29th December, 1170, 'the glorious bishop Thomas fell by the swords of wicked men'. His body was buried towards the east end of the crypt of Canterbury cathedral and within a few months his grave had become a place of pilgrimage. Becket's death was one of those events which shock and capture the imagination of the world in which they take place, assuring their subject of an undying memory and attraction for all time. On 21st February, 1173, Pope Alexander III, formally canonized the martyred archbishop, and on 12th July, 1174, occurred the last scene in the drama of King Henry II and Thomas Becket when the former did public penance before the tomb of him who had been his greatest friend and foe. That same year, on September 5th, the choir of Canterbury cathedral was destroyed by fire. The subsequent rebuilding included the construction of a more fitting resting place for the 'holy blissful martyr' and on 7th July, 1220, his body was translated to a shrine in the centre of the new Trinity chapel, east of the choir. This shrine became one of the richest and most famous in Christendom, and one of the most popular with pilgrims. In September, 1538, Henry VIII had it destroyed and few records indeed survive about it. These have been materially increased by the recovery of a customary of the shrine, compiled in 1428 by John Vyel and Edmund Kyngyston, the two monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who then held the office of guardians of the shrine.

The customary, which is in Latin, is in the nature of an addition in front of late thirteenth century copies of two biographies of Becket in French. The first of these is the life of the saint by Benedict of St. Albans, which was originally written between 1183 and 1189, the second is the life by Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, which was composed between 1172 and 1174. The customary and the two lives make up a manuscript which after the reformation belonged to the distinguished recusant family of Hawkins of Nash Court, near Canterbury. Later it was in the possession of the book collector Richard Heber (1773 - 1833), who was a half-brother of the hymnographer bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber. Afterwards it came into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillipps, the greatest collector of manuscripts ever. Phillipps died in 1872, but his library is still being sold off, with the first sale having taken place in 1886 at Sotheby's and the latest being on 26th November, 1975, there. In this the volume with the customary of Becket's shrine and the two biographies, which Phillipps had numbered MS. 8113, was lot 826. On 18th December it was acquired by the British Library, with the help of generous contributions from the Friends of the National Libraries and Dr. W. G. Urry, sometime keeper of the cathedral and corporation archives of Canterbury, and presently reader in mediaeval western palaeography at Oxford. It is now additional

MS. 59616 in the department of manuscripts of the reference division of the British Library. The British Library's reference division comprises the former library departments of the British Museum.

The Heber-Phillipps manuscript has only now really become available for study, although its existence has been noticed by scholars since the middle of the last century. Its texts of Benedict of St. Albans and Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence are not unique sources. The customary is, and the merit of drawing attention to its importance, belongs to Dr. Urry. Of its authors Vyel entered religion in 1399 and Kyngyston in 1401. We also know the date of Vyel's death, 1444, at which time he was still one of the guardians of St. Thomas' shrine. His colleague, and he gives us a fascinating account of the observances connected with this, which makes up an overall picture of a meticulously organized religious and tourist institution and industry. The middle ages come to life in their brighter and darker colours, and coupled with careful instructions about the devotions due to St. Thomas are precise directions about the outgoings from the revenues of his shrine.

Dom John and Dom Edmund tell us that there were always two guardians, one known as the spiritual guardian, the other as the temporal. They had to sleep within the shrine precincts. In the winter they normally rose at six in the morning, in summer at five. Everyday, except Tuesday, the spiritual guardian celebrated mass in honour of Becket at the shrine's altar, served by the temporal guardian and two clerks whom the guardians had as their permanent assistants. These clerks were seculars. Before the daily mass of Becket the temporal guardian opened doors for pilgrims and travellers to come in to the service and encouraged them so to do by ringing a bell. At the beginning of the mass four candles were lighted on the shrine by the second clerk and of the twelve large square candles which stood on a beam near the shrine every other one, which six burnt all day. On greater feasts however all twelve were lit. After the offertory at the mass the first clerk, wearing a surplice, brought a thurible to the celebrant. The latter put in incense and censed the host, the chalice, and the altar, and then the whole shrine going round it. Afterwards he censed the temporal guardian who then took the thurible and censed the celebrant. Once mass was over the altar had to be tidied up as quickly as possible so that the congregation, who might be suffering from cold or the effects of their journey and therefore be the more anxious to deliver their offerings to God and the blessed martyr, would not be delayed from so doing. On Sundays, after the mass, the temporal guardian had to make an audit of the previous week's offerings and pay the stipends of the clerks and any other disbursements due.

One of the guardians had always to be on duty at the shrine, except at mealtime, or else he had to have another monk as a substitute. After the monastery's conventual mass each day the

doors of the shrine precincts were closed and the guardians' first assistant clerk, armed with some 'offensive and defensive instrument' made diligent search in all the dark places and suspect corners where any thief or stray or mad dog might hide. The shrine was open to the public again after refectory. In the evening, before curfew, the guardians were to be back at the shrine precincts with all promptness so that they would be well rested for the next day's labours. If one of them was delayed, the first arrival was to put the key of the precincts in a conspicuous place so that the second comer would see that his colleague had already put in his appearance. During the night the greater silence was to be strictly kept by the guardians.

Unless it were Christmas Eve or Day, Easterday, Whitsunday, or one of the four principal feasts of the Virgin Mary, on Monday each week the Christ Church community went in procession to Becket's shrine after vespers. Every Tuesday was specially dedicated to the glorious martyr, and except in the case of Christmas day falling on a Tuesday, the conventual mass was sung at his shrine then. This mass naturally had to be of the day in question, but a celebration in honour of Becket specifically was not omitted on Tuesdays. A mass of St. Thomas of Canterbury was said by the monk who held the office of guardian of Becket's crown, or a deputy, at the altar in the Corona. After mass of the Virgin had been attended by the community in the nave of the cathedral, all the monks hastened to the shrine of Becket for the high mass. Eight candles were lit on the shrine for the occasion and the choir was directed, or 'ruled', by the succentor wearing a cope. After the preface the two clerks of the shrine, in surplices, brought two lighted torches to the altar, which were held by the guardians, or two of the brethren on their behalf.

Taking on the saying of the mass of Becket on Tuesdays was not the only way in which the guardian of the Corona, or 'coronarius', helped out the guardians of Becket's main shrine. He was in general their coadjutor and our customary devotes a special paragraph to him as such. He normally had to spend the night in the Corona, but if either of the guardians of the shrine were prevented for reasonable cause from carrying out his duties, either by night or day, the coronarius had to take his place. This included sleeping in the shrine precincts. If the coronarius were prevented from deputizing at the shrine, he had to provide a substitute from amongst the monks of Christ Church, with the subprior's approval. This substitute was not though permitted to hold any key to the doors of the shrine precincts, and for that matter the coronarius, who seems usually to have been allowed a spare key to the precincts, had to hand it over to the guardians and not take it with him if he were going to spend a night outside the monastery.

After discussing day-to-day happenings at the shrine Vyel and Kyngyston go on to those on high days and holy days. The chief festivals of the year were, they tell us, divided into two classes, principal feasts and secondary ones. There were thirteen principal



feasts, those of All Saints, Christmas, the Passion of St. Thomas, Epiphany, the Annunciation if it fell in Eastertide, St. Alphege, St. Dunstan, the Ascension, Whitsunday, the Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, the Translation of St. Thomas, and the Assumption. (Easterday was apparently regarded as beyond grading). We are also told that on St. Anselm's Day was kept the solemn memorial of all the relics in the cathedral. On a principal or a secondary feast during the conventual high mass and at both vespers eight candles were lit on Becket's shrine and four on its altar. At the beginning of matins the second clerk of the shrine lit the said candles alternately and when the eighth response was started they were all alight. If the archbishop were officiating in person at lauds, the two clerks of the shrine, each holding a torch, attended him during the Benedictus whilst he censed the high altar, Becket's shrine, and 'the other customary places'. If only the prior were officiating at lauds on a principal or secondary feast, he was merely assisted in his censuring by the second clerk with a torch.

We select for detailed examination the customary's account of the feast of the Translation of Becket, on July 7th. This was kept with more solemnity than December 29th because of the proximity of the latter to Christmas. The July celebrations lasted for fifteen days, till the 21st. On July 5th, after the conventual mass, the doors of the shrine precincts were closed and the guardians, their two clerks, the clerk assistant of the Corona, and two other clerks specially recruited — each of whom received 2d. for his trouble — hurried to the shrine and removed its usual covering. In place of this was erected a woven canopy with hangings, which Archbishop Arundel's sister, the Countess of Kent, had given to the shrine. The canopy was exchanged for the usual covering on July 21st. Further, before the feast, both or one of the guardians, but never a secular, had to clean all the jewels and ornaments on the shrine. Every fourth year the guardians had to see to the renewal of the twelve painted candles, each weighing 3lbs., which stood on the shrine and its altar. The candles were alternately red and green in colour, and had roses and flowers of gold and other colours cunningly inserted into them. Every third year saw the renewal of a long candle stretched round a drum, which was maintained by the barons of Dover. The empty drum was sent down to the mayor of Dover at a suitable time before July 7th and he and the other barons of Dover had to pay for providing it with a new candle. The length of this had to equal the circumference of the town of Dover. When the drum went empty to Dover its carrier received 6d., when it returned it had two porters who got 2s. The long candle was lit every day at the mass of St. Thomas, for all processions to his shrine, and during vespers, matins, and high mass on all principal or secondary feasts. Also, from it the guardians supplied candles for the funeral of any pauper in the city of Canterbury.

On July 6th the guardians of the shrine got from the cellarer seven monks' allowances of bread, seven pounds of cheese, and



seven measures of beer, nominally for the benefit of the pilgrims coming to venerate Becket's festivity. However, Vyel and Kyngyston say that the more the people flock to this, so much the more must the guardians persevere in their attentions to the offerings at the shrine. Since their duties may as a result lay particularly heavy on them, they may refresh themselves from the bread, cheese, and beer. Nevertheless, the pilgrims were not to be neglected. If any of them were found fainting from the length of their journey or the heat of the sun, or excessively high temperatures in the weather, the guardians were to refresh him or her with bread and drink, with all speed and kindness. If a great number of the faithful arrived on July 6th and 7th, access to the shrine was to be accorded to them throughout the whole day. In any case, during lunch time one of the guardians was to remain at the shrine, and the other was to keep and bring to him a dish from the refectory. On the vigil and the day of the Translation, and whenever else it might be needed, one or other of the guardians was to sweep the pavement of the shrine precincts as a precaution against any infection which might result from the tramping around of the pilgrims' feet. On July 6th, just before dinner, the eight candles on the shrine were lighted, to burn continuously throughout the octave of the Translation. Then four were put out, but the other four remained burning till July 21st. Every day of the two weeks' celebration of the Translation the Christ Church monks went in procession to Becket's shrine.

On July 7th itself the subprior celebrated a solemn mass at the shrine. If he were unable to do so, the succentor arranged for another celebrant, unless July 7th were a Tuesday in which case the hebdomary celebrated. Indeed, on each day of the octave of the Translation there was a solemn mass at the shrine and for their part at the eight masses the Christ Church cantors and singers of polyphony received 2s., from the guardians of the shrine. Throughout the week of the Translation the guardians were excused from choir, so that they might more diligently attend to their especial duties.

The last part of the customary is concerned with the financial and other charges on the shrine of St. Thomas, notes about which are also contained elsewhere in Dom John and Dom Edmund's treatise. We will remark some of the more interesting. Every Wednesday in Advent the guardians had to provide their brethren in the infirmary with a dish of three kinds of fish, or at least two kinds with the addition of some sort of vegetable. If there were a shortage of fish, the temporal guardian had to excuse his colleague and himself in chapter and the dish had to be forthcoming as soon as practicable. Once upon a time, at Whitsun and Michaelmas, the guardians had supplied spices for the community, but by 1428 these had been commuted for money, 20s. for the lord prior, 4s. for the subprior, and 2s. for the other monks, on each festival. On Maundy Thursday the guardians found 4s. 4d., that is, 4d. each for the thirteen poor men whose feet and hands

the prior washed then. Each day throughout the year the cellarer received 6s. 8d. from the revenues of the shrine towards his expenses for the monastery. At Whitsun the prior's chaplain got 40s. for the mowing of hay. At Michaelmas the sacristan drew 100s. in return for which he had to keep in repair all the windows in the shrine precincts, both in iron and in glass, and the covering above on the walls, both in timber and in lead. In honour of the five joys of the Blessed Virgin the guardians had to provide five candles for the prior's chapel. These stood on an iron beam there and every day at the end of compline the third chaplain (presumably to the prior) lit one of them which remained burning throughout the night and was extinguished in the morning after the signal had been given in the dormitory for the community to rise. In order that this custom might be duly kept and the fragments and remains of the candles taken back to the guardians the third chaplain received 20d. from them each quarter-day.

Wax seems to have bulked large in the lives of the guardians of Becket's shrine. Every year they had to purchase enough for their own official needs and a thousandweight and three-and-a-half hundredweight for the sacristy. All this was brought by boat from London to Faversham and then over land to Canterbury. For the carriage of each hundredweight by water 1d. was paid and for a thousandweight 20d. For the transportation from Faversham 2d. was given for a hundredweight and 3s. 4d for a thousandweight.

To return to lighter matters, every week when the commonroom was frequented by the monks, the guardians handed over to the common-room servant 3s. When one of the guardians took his turn as president of common-room for a week, he provided a measure of wine 'for the increase of recreation' 'so that his companions might rejoice at his presence amongst them'. Each newly priested monk on the day he said his first mass at Becket's shrine received a measure of wine, or its value in money if wine were lacking, from the guardians. Nor were the interests of brethren going up to Oxford forgotten. To each freshman monk the guardians gave 5s. with the blessing of St. Thomas.

Vyel and Kyngyston's customary occupies twenty-one largish, fairly closely written, pages. In the present article we have only been able to touch upon the wealth of detail in it. Even when we have been more explicit, we have had to pass over many points. We hope that the customary will not long have to wait for full study and publication. It cannot but be of the utmost interest to everyone who cares about the history of Canterbury Cathedral, the Christian church in England, and England in the middle ages. From these subjects Becket is inseparable. He is part of the English legend. To study him is to be afforded an opportunity of studying a cult-figure *par excellence*. This statement is in no way meant to question his right to the title of saint. The justice in the issues at stake between Henry II and Thomas Becket, and the characters of the two men in eternity, are clearly visible only to Him in whose rule and governance are the hearts

of kings and archbishops. However, there is a very plausible theory that the remains of all living creatures and the places particularly associated with these creatures retain for ever imprints of their personalities, in degrees related to the strength of these personalities, and that, again in comparable degrees, these imprints are felt by men, subconsciously or consciously. Hence there will always be shrines and pilgrimages, in all religions, and in all anti-religions. Anybody who tries to abolish them is striving against human nature. It is of vital importance to direct man's instinct for hero-worship towards God and his saints. Otherwise, all too easily this instinct may be seized by evil and selfish men and directed towards evil and selfishness. The present writer does not hesitate to invoke the prayers of the holy Thomas of Canterbury against this.

D. H. TURNER

cos de melle; soy dy offas cyplem pecta nira

Arti peritose

*Asperula cynosuroides* L.

Strenuus pectus  
liberum Scam

परिचयः

Supplementum Florae  
S. 1. 1. 1.

5000; 6111

flowered mid-summer

[illegible][illegible]

# House of Holland

1360-1473

Edward I

Edmund E.o.K.

Joan

Fair Maid of Kent +1385

Thomas Holland 1  
E.o.K. +1360

Thomas Holland  
m.

Alicia Fitzalan

HOLLAND

Thomas Holland  
3 E.o.K. +1400

Joan Holland  
m.

Eleanor Holland  
m.

Elizabeth Holland  
m.

Margaret Holla  
m.

Edmund Langley

Roger Mortimer  
4 E.o.M. +1398

Thomas Montagu  
4 E.o.S. +1428

John Beaufort  
E.o.Som. +1410

Thom  
D.o.C

Edmund Mortimer  
5 E.o.M. +1425  
m.

Anne Mortimer  
m.

Anne  
m.

BEAUFORT

Richard E.o.C +1415

Richard Neville

John Beaufort  
D.o.Som. +1414

Anne - m.2  
John Holland 2 D.o.E.

Richard D.o.Y. +1460  
m.  
Cicely Neville

Richard Neville  
E.o.U. Kingmaker

Margaret Beaufort m.

YORK

TUDOR

Edward IV  
+1483

Isabella  
m.

George m. Isabella  
D.o.C. +1478  
Neville

Thomas Bourchier  
E.o.E.

Margaret

Richard III  
+1485

Anne of York  
m. C.o.S. +1547

Henry Holland  
+1473

Thomas Cardinal  
Bourchier  
A.B.C. +1486

Reginald  
Cardinal Pole  
A.B.C. +1558

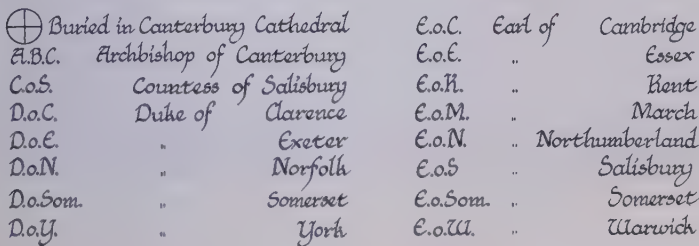
Edward V  
+1483

Elizabeth of York m.

Henry VII +1509

Henry VIII







*Tomb of Lady Margaret Holland and her two husbands in St. Michael's Chapel.*

## THE HOLLAND FAMILY AND CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Joan, "Fair Maid of Kent", wife of Edward the Black Prince, was born in 1328 and was the eldest daughter of Edmund, Earl of Kent, the half brother of Edward II. The Black Prince was her third husband, whom she married in 1363, and their second son, Richard, succeeded to the Throne in 1379 and reigned for twenty turbulent years. However, Richard II died childless, and it was to be the children of Joan's first marriage and their offspring who were to shape the England of the fifteenth century as well as being great patrons of Canterbury Cathedral.

In 1339, Joan, then aged only eleven, married Sir Thomas Holland (+1360) from Upholland near Wigan in Lancashire. On the death of her brother in 1352, Joan became Countess of Kent in her own right, and Thomas was created Earl of Kent by Joan's cousin Edward III. Holland had been one of the founders of the Order of the Garter in 1344, and two years later he served under the Black Prince, then aged sixteen, at the Battle of Crecy. During Thomas's absence in France, Joan married William Montagu, second Earl of Salisbury, apparently under the impression that her first husband was dead. When Thomas Holland returned from France in 1349, a Papal Commission dissolved the second marriage, and in the following year Joan's first child was born, a son also called Thomas. Of the three subsequent children, John (+1400) became Duke of Exeter and married Elizabeth, daughter of John of Gaunt and sister of Henry Bolingbroke; Joan (+1384) married John, Earl of Richmond; and Maud (+1392) married Hugh, the nephew of William Courtnay, Archbishop of Canterbury 1381-1396.

Joan's later marriage to the Black Prince and the accession of their son Richard II in 1379 saw an astronomic rise in the fortunes of the Holland family. Thomas and John were the young King's half brothers, and in recognition of this Richard created Thomas second Earl of Kent in 1381 placing him only one step from the throne.

The second Earl exercised an evil influence over the young King; cruel and selfish, his principal concern was the enrichment and advancement of himself and his family. In 1366 he had married Alicia Fitzalan, directly descended from Henry III and half sister to Thomas Arundel who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1396. Whatever personal aspirations to the English throne he may have harboured, Thomas Holland's hopes were ended in 1386 when the childless Richard II proclaimed Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, as his heir. Mortimer was the grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III, and with this move Richard acted directly against his uncle John of Gaunt and his son, the natural heir to the throne, Henry Bolingbroke. Thomas Holland acted swiftly, gaining custody of the young Mortimer whom he married to his eldest daughter Eleanor in 1388.

Thomas Holland's attempts to secure the throne for his family

were not helped by the activities of his brother John who was a compulsive murderer finally forced to take sanctuary in Beverly in 1385 after the murder of Ralph, son of the Earl of Stafford and a close companion of the King. This was too much for Richard who had long been annoyed by John Holland's friendship and support for the troublesome John of Gaunt and his faction, and Holland was condemned to death by the King despite the pleas of his mother Joan, who, it is said, died of grief at Richard's action.

However, in 1386 John was forgiven and was created Constable of John of Gaunt's army for the invasion of Castille. This shrewd move on behalf of the King removed two difficult and factious personalities from the country, but John of Gaunt may have had reason to regret advising the King on John Holland's appointment, for before leaving Devon for Spain Gaunt's daughter, Elizabeth, became pregnant and was forced to marry the King's new Constable before his departure.

The increasing difficulties of Richard's reign fermented opposition amongst the Barons, particularly Gloucester and Bolingbroke. In an attempt to retain the support of the Hollands, Richard created John Earl of Huntingdon in 1388, and from then on John became an ardent supporter of the King. In 1397, Holland exposed the plot of Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, and Archbishop Arundel to overthrow Richard. This resulted in Gloucester's murder, Arundel's execution, and the exile of Warwick and the Archbishop. For such service John Holland was created Duke of Exeter.

In 1396, Thomas Holland had secured the marriage of his second daughter, Margaret, to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, natural son of John of Gaunt and legitimised by his marriage to Catherine Swynford. This appears to have been part of a deliberate plan of Thomas Holland's to use his daughters to secure all the possible claimants to the throne by marriage. In 1395, Edmund Langley, the fifth son of Edward III and then aged fifty-four, married Holland's third daughter Joan, and a future Holland line seemed more and more likely as Richard's reign drew to a close.

The climax of the rise of the Holland family came in the last three years of the fourteenth century. In 1397, Thomas Holland, second Earl of Kent died and was succeeded by his son Thomas (1374-1400) as third Earl. The following year saw the death of Richard's heir Roger Mortimer, leaving his Holland widow, Eleanor, with a seven year old son Edmund as unofficial heir to the throne. Richard's natural heir, Henry Bolingbroke, was also banished in 1398, and the new Earl of Kent must have been quite confident that Edmund, fifth Earl of March, a child completely dominated by his mother's family, would succeed to the English throne on Richard's death.

However, Thomas had not foreseen the invasion by Henry Bolingbroke and the subsequent overthrow of Richard II. Everything the Hollands had fought for depended on Richard dying childless as King, and the country accepting the Holland-Mortimer heir. With Richard defeated everything appeared lost. Thomas



and his uncle John, Duke of Exeter, led a brief attempt to restore Richard in the winter of 1399 which ended in the King's death and the executions of both Thomas and John by order of the new King, Henry IV, early in 1400.

Thomas was succeeded by his brother Edmund as fourth Earl of Kent, who died without a male heir in 1407; but although he was the last of the Holland Earls, this was by no means the end of the Holland family. Lady Margaret was Henry IV's sister-in-law, and all the children of Thomas the second Earl were cousins of the new Queen, Mary de Bohun. The Holland girls continued to arrange their marriages skilfully, and their children and grandchildren were to alter the course of English history twice during the fifteenth century. Eleanor, Roger Mortimer's widow, married her only daughter Anne to Richard, Earl of Cambridge, grandson of Edward III and the stepson of Eleanor's sister Joan. The son of this marriage, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (1411-60), married Cicely Neville, John of Gaunt's grandchild, and their children included Edward IV, Richard III, and Isabella, mother of Thomas Bourchier, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury (+1486).

Eleanor's third husband was Thomas Montagu, fourth Earl of Salisbury who died in 1428 and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. Anne, the only daughter of this marriage and heir to the Salisbury title and estate, married Richard Neville, son of Ralph by his second wife Joan Beaufort, the sister of Lady Margaret's first husband. Anne and Richard Neville's son, Richard, became Earl of Warwick, known as the "Kingmaker", and their great granddaughter, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was the mother of Cardinal Pole Archbishop of Canterbury (+1558).

However, it was Margaret Holland's marriage to John, Earl of Somerset, in 1396 that was to have the most lasting significance for England and for Canterbury Cathedral. John died in 1410 and was buried in Trinity Chapel as part of Henry IV's desire to create a Lancastrian funeral church at Canterbury. Margaret's heir John was born in 1403, and was created Duke of Somerset by his nephew, Henry VI, in 1443. Somerset's daughter, Lady Margaret Beaufort, married Edmund Tudor, the son of Owen Tudor and Henry V's widow, Catherine de Valois. Lady Margaret Beaufort's son took the throne as Henry VII in 1485 and was the first of the Tudor Kings. Thus the marriages of Eleanor and Margaret Holland led directly to the Yorkist and Tudor dynasties as well as providing Canterbury with two Cardinal Archbishops.

But to return to Margaret Holland and Canterbury. After the death of her first husband Margaret married his nephew, Thomas Duke of Clarence, younger brother of Henry V. Clarence was killed in France in 1421 and was also buried in Trinity Chapel. Towards the end of her life Margaret decided to erect a splendid funerary chapel for herself and her two husbands, and though this was the principal contribution of the Holland family to Canterbury Cathedral it was by no means the first scheme with which they were associated. The Hollands were extremely influential in gaining benefactions for the rebuilding of the south west tower, this rebuilding being undertaken by Archbishop



Chicheley in 1424. The heraldry of the porch vault, dating between July 1425 (John Mowbray as Duke of Norfolk) and March 1427 (when Henry Beaufort received the Cardinal's hat), is so full of Holland connections that Ralph Griffin (in *Archeologia* vol. 71) was led to believe that the porch was built as a memorial to Joan Fair Maid of Kent and her Holland descendants. Though this theory cannot be upheld, there are numerous Holland coats of arms including John Beaufort, Margaret's first husband, and Clarence her second and his brothers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and John Duke of Bedford, Roger Mortimer, Eleanor's first husband and Edmund their son, and Thomas Montagu, Eleanor's third husband.

The Hollands do not appear to have been involved in the rebuilding of the south west transept arm which was carried out in several stages; the last being the building of the whole free-standing southern bay, the great south window, and the vault springs, which were begun before July 1425 (Mowbray family arms rather than Norfolk). This project was very much a Beaufort-Neville affair, as the two families represented on the vault were connected by Beaufort-Neville marriages. John Mowbray, created Duke of Norfolk in 1425, married Catherine Neville, and Henry Percy, created second Earl of Northumberland in 1416 married Catherine's sister, Eleanor Neville. The other arms on the vault wall-ribs are Archbishop Arundel (+1414) who was Lady Margaret Holland's uncle, Archbishop Henry Chicheley (1414-43), and Henry V and VI (?). Lady Margaret Holland's decision to rebuild St. Michael's Chapel on the eastern side of the south west transept arm was not governed purely by the fact that it needed doing at the time when she wanted to build a sepulchral chapel; rather, it should be seen as a continuation of the Beaufort-Neville transept project.

Lady Margaret's connections with the Nevilles were prolific; her first husband was the brother of Ralph Neville's second wife Joan who was the mother of all the Neville girls, including Cicely who married Margaret's great nephew, Richard Duke of York. Lady Margaret's sister Elizabeth married Sir John Neville, Ralph's son by his first marriage to Margaret Stafford who was, in turn, the sister of Joan Countess of Kent and wife of Thomas Holland the third Earl. Lady Margaret was also the second cousin of John Mowbray who married Margaret's niece, Catherine Neville, and Mowbray's elder brother Thomas, executed in 1405, had been married to Margaret's cousin Constance. Thus the rebuilding of the south west transept arm and St. Michael's Chapel was very much a family undertaking.

The Holland Chapel, begun in 1437, is of two bays and is aligned slightly to the south of the choir wall. It retains the original arrangement of Lanfranc's transept in having chapels at two levels, St. Michael's below and All Saints' above. The lower chapel was completed within two years and the altar was consecrated by William Welys, Bishop of Rochester, on December 18th, 1439. The upper chapel was left unfinished and the vault was not begun until after 1449.

The Chapel was almost certainly designed by Richard Beke, who was appointed Master Mason of Canterbury Cathedral in 1435 and who held that position until his death in 1458. As well as the Holland Chapel he was responsible for the fan-vaulted chantry chapel of Henry IV on the north side of Trinity Chapel which was consecrated in 1439, for the transformation of the Martyrdom though not for the execution of its vault, and for the new Lady Chapel which was consecrated in 1455 and has many features in common with the Holland Chapel.

The Holland Chapel marks a departure from the previous architectural style at Canterbury which stemmed from the rebuilding of the Nave from 1376. This workshop tradition was continued into the Cloister and Chapter House in the 1390s, and in the northern bay of the south west transept arm begun between 1411 and 1414. Stephen Lote (+1417) appears to have been Henry Yevele's heir as Master Mason, and his continued association with the work after Yevele's death in 1400 can be assumed from the grants of robes made to him by the Priory in 1412 and 1416, the only years for which lists survive at this time, and in the northern and earlier bay of the south west transept, Lote continues the style of the nave. In 1421, Thomas Mapilton became consultant mason, and he introduced several new London forms into the work, including new tracery patterns which have a far greater vertical emphasis in the arch head as displayed in his west window of the south west tower. In the Holland Chapel, Beke abandoned the tracery types of the nave in favour of Mapilton's forms, with strong verticals carried right through to the arch frame causing abrupt irregular shapes in the individual tracery heads. This motif appears in the side lights of the great south window of the transept, which may be a pointer to the date of its construction; that is post-1421. The tracery lights of the Holland Chapel differ from those in the transept in being cusped above and below, so that each of the upper lights forms an extended oval shape rather than being flat-bottomed as in the Nave west and transept south windows. The lower cusping is the result of the abandonment of the series of long transoms introduced into the arch heads which is the dominant feature of the Nave west window and forms a strong element in the transept south window. Mapilton's tracery forms are also found in Bury St. Edmund's where St. Mary's Church was being rebuilt from 1425; and both Canterbury and Bury almost certainly reflect current London trends, for the east window of Winchester College Chapel, very much a London work of the turn of the century, contains all the elements of these later examples.

The shaft bases in the Holland Chapel also deviate from those in the transept which are of two types; the bases of the northern and earlier bay plus the main vault shaft bases of the southern bay continue the stepped base design from the Nave arcades, but Lote's Cloister base design, with its additional roll moulding halfway up, was introduced under the transept south and west windows. This is the base type used by Mapilton, which is not surprising as Lote bequeathed all his moulding patterns to him.

Mapilton's bases can be seen under the south west tower, in the south west porch, on the tomb of Archbishop Henry Chicheley built by 1425, and also in the London Guildhall, begun in 1411, which may well be to Lote's design and completed by Mapilton after 1417. The Holland Chapel bases swell into a bell shape which overhangs the lower section of the base and are similar to the bases on the pulpitum. The differences between the Holland Chapel bases and Mapilton's designs suggests that Mapilton and Beke were trained independently in London "schools" rather than Beke being Mapilton's pupil.

The vault of the Holland Chapel is extremely complex and retains much of its original colour scheme. The rib pattern is based on three parallel east-west ridges crossing three north-south in each bay, as well as the usual transverse and diagonals, which is notably similar to the Gloucester Cathedral vaults, particularly in the north transept. Amongst the bosses on the vault are displayed the arms of Lady Margaret Holland and her two husbands, and the white hart, the arms of Joan, Fair Maid of Kent. It is the vault that creates the luxuriant atmosphere of the Holland Chapel, and even if it were stripped of its later riotous collection of tombs, the chapel would still be lavish. In its original painted state, with its glittering heraldic glass and magnificent alabaster triple tomb, the chapel must have been sensational, and it is easy to understand how, as early as the 1440s, Royal taste reacted so strongly against almost all forms of decoration and elaboration. Even in its present cluttered state, the Holland chapel represents a much truer picture of a medieval interior, with all its noisy pageantry and colour, than does the recently scoured Lady Chapel, and one hopes that Canterbury has seen the last of this zealous cleaning and "repair". On the feast of the Martyrdom, 1439, Lady Margaret Holland died, and on the 28th of January following, Henry VI wrote to the Prior requesting that the bodies of "Oor Oncle the Duk of Clarence and of our Cosyn Therl of Somersete, her husbands . . ." could be interred next to "Our Aunte the Dutchese of Clarence, just deceased."

Thus ended Lady Margaret Holland's association with Canterbury. Her descendants, the Tudors, were not to be great benefactors of the Cathedral, but those of Eleanor Holland were responsible for one further scheme, the completion of the Martyrdom and the Royal window. The glass for the great north west transept window, dating from 1483, was a gift of the first Yorkist King, Edward IV, great grandson of Eleanor Holland. On the vault, built between 1476 and 1480, are the arms of her grandson Warwick the Kingmaker, her great grandsons Edward IV and Richard III (as Duke of Gloucester), and George Duke of Clarence, together with her great great grandsons Thomas Cardinal Bouchier and two of his brothers, Lord Berners and Lord Fitzwarine. The martyrdom vault is not so much a Holland memorial as proof of the incredible and far reaching effect of the Holland marriages on English history as well as being a somewhat salutary reminder of the transitory nature of greatness and power.

FRANCIS WOODMAN

## THE BLACK PRINCE AND HIS ARTISTS

Six centuries have passed since the death of Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince, on 8 June, 1376, at the age of 46. It is hardly surprising that few surviving works of any kind can be associated with his career. Yet we know from the documentary record that a great deal, both in building and in decorative art, was produced for him and under his patronage. In an age of exceptionally high aesthetic taste his personal preferences must have counted for much. Even though the tastes of his father, Edward III, and of his son Richard II, are better known to us by the accident of survival, he clearly exercised an influence, by no means negligible, on the course of English art.

It so happens that, for any assessment of the Prince's taste and influence, Canterbury provides almost all of the essential evidence. He was concerned with architectural works at more than a dozen buildings in England and Wales, but most of these have disappeared or have left only scanty remains exposed by excavation. The private mansion within his father's Palace of Westminster is totally gone; so is his country house at Byfleet in Surrey; there are mere fragments and the recovered plan of Kennington. His 'great house, for the most part built of stone' on Fish Street Hill in the City of London had by the sixteenth century become a common hostelry with The Black Bell for a sign, as Stow tells us. His Wardrobe in Old Jewry, where he had a new chamber built in 1355 and a chapel two years later, has likewise left no trace. Of work of his time practically nothing is to be seen at his castles of Berkhamsted and Wallingford, while at Chester the mediaeval castle is lost, though we have the splendid Dee Bridge designed in 1347 by the Prince's master mason Henry Snelleston.

Perhaps it is fitting that, while so little is left of the civil and military works executed for the Prince, his religious structures have fared better. The house of Bonshommes at Ashridge, which he enlarged, has gone, and only the plan and fragmentary details have been recovered of his new eastern chapels at Vale Royal Abbey in Cheshire. But at Edington in Wiltshire, changed at his instance by his friend Bishop Edington from a secular college to another canonry of Bonshommes, we have the whole church, a most remarkable example of the early Perpendicular style, closely related to contemporary royal works in Windsor Castle.

At Canterbury, however, besides his own monument in the cathedral, there is his chantry chapel in the crypt. The magnificent West Gate of the city, and much of the Walls, were designed by the great architect Henry Yeveley, whose career was founded upon the Prince's early patronage. Yeveley was also responsible



for the main features of the cathedral's nave and the new cloisters and chapter-house, as well as for the master plan for later works including the transformation of the transepts and the addition of the south-west tower. The genius of Yeveley was the decisive influence in giving direction to the new English architecture, invented but not yet organized before the Black Death. It was the mortality caused by this dreadful pestilence that gave Yeveley, with other craftsmen from the provinces, their opportunity. Henry Yeveley took up the freedom of the City of London on 3 December 1353, and within the next four years had been put in charge of extensive rebuilding in hand for the Prince at Kennington. For two more years he was 'the Prince's mason', then entered the king's service. In 1360 he was appointed King's Chief Mason over the head of Master John Box, a Canterbury man who had held the office for ten years.

Yeveley's later career and remarkable achievements in many architectural fields justify this unusual promotion, when he was perhaps not much over 30. His success was deserved, but that he won the rewards of genius was due in the first place to the Black Prince's appreciation. Credit must be given to the Prince for recognizing the qualities of the young Yeveley, recommending him to the king his father, and so setting English Gothic architecture upon a new path. Chance played a part: we simply do not know how the Prince came to hear of Yeveley as a promising mason capable of carrying out work of the highest quality. It may very well be that the Prince, staying in his house in the City, knew of Yeveley because of his inclusion as one of the six freestone masons on a commission of February 1356 to regulate the craft in London. Another of the six was John de Tyryngton, the Prince's master at Kennington since 1351, when work was resumed after the break caused by the Black Death. Nicholas de Ailyngton, who had been in charge in the 1340s, had presumably died of the plague.

Several other master masons worked for the Prince, notably upon his castles in Cheshire and Wales, but their work has not come down to us, any more than what was executed in timber by his carpenters. Nicholas de Eccleston, his chief carpenter in the earldom from 1346, carried out major works on the roof of the great hall of Chester Castle in 1351, and died ten years later, when he was succeeded by Richard Ercalo. Richard Wallingford had charge at Byfleet in 1347, when he was building a new kitchen; in 1351 he was called the Prince's yeoman and carpenter, and in 1352-53 was in charge at Wallingford Castle. By 1363 it was William Shaldeston who was working there, continuing until 1375, shortly before the Prince's death. At Kennington the woodwork was in the hands of John Heyward in 1358-59, and then until 1362 was done by Richard Shropshire, later one of the sworn carpenters of the City of London. For the last of the Black Prince's buildings, the alterations to Berkhamsted Castle in 1375,



craftsmen were impressed by the master carpenter Richard Swift. Swift must have been on terms of surprising intimacy with the boy Richard II, for in 1377 it was from his hands that the young king received two '*petites canons*', presumably toy guns. Next year Swift became the king's master carpenter and held the office until retirement in 1394; he was still alive in 1406.

We return to Henry Yeveley, the principal architect employed by the Black Prince. His London home was for many years in the parish of St. Magnus, very near the Prince's house, so he may well have been a neighbour from the start and thus a logical choice in any case. Yeveley was also, before the Prince's death and perhaps much earlier, a tenant of London properties of Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, for which he paid the then considerable rent of 5s. a year. Although the precise effect of these various links is now uncertain, they provide a background of credibility for Yeveley's speedy rise to fame and for several aspects of his subsequent career.

Robert Yeveley, Henry's brother, also worked for the Prince, as master in charge of extensive works at Wallingford Castle in 1364-69. Robert, since 1361, had been concerned with royal works at the Tower of London, and the fact that he could get promotion by moving to the Prince's service is only one of many pieces of evidence showing how important was the art patronage exercised by Edward of Woodstock. The Prince employed many artists who also worked for his father, as well as for his brother, John of Gaunt. These craftsmen formed a close circle of men active about the Court, and no sharp distinction can be drawn between those who worked for the king and those serving other members of the royal family.

The chief building works carried out for the Prince in England—we cannot here consider what was done for him in Gascony in the 1360s—can be divided into two main groups. His residences in the London area, at Kennington and Byfleet, were rebuilt or enlarged between 1342 and 1363, when as Prince of Aquitaine he left for Bordeaux. During this period there was also the enlargement of Vale Royal Abbey at the east end of the church. This was to an unusual design of radiating chapels, revealed by excavations in 1958 under Mr. F. H. Thompson, M.C., F.S.A. The chapels were found to be polygonal and square alternating, a scheme only found elsewhere at the Spanish metropolitan cathedral of Toledo (1226-38). Twelve chapels were to be built to the design of William Helpston, the Prince's master mason in Cheshire and North Wales, by a contract of 20 August 1359; they were to match one chapel already built by him, and therefore designed not later than 1358. This certainly implies knowledge by Helpston of the plan at Toledo, which he might have acquired at first hand if he had accompanied one of the English embassies of 1358 negotiating an alliance with Castile. Alter-

natively, a Spanish master similarly attached to a Castilian mission might have met Helpeston in England or in Gascony. All over western Europe educated craftsmen then had some knowledge of French, and personal discussion could take place, amplifying the international language of drawings and sketches.

The second phase of the Prince's works included what was done to his orders during his absence from 1363 to 1371, notably at Wallingford Castle, and a little at Berkhamsted during the last years of his life. The opening of this second period includes the building of the chantry chapel in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, in 1362-63. The Prince's manor of Vauxhall, next to Kennington, had been made over to the monks of Christ Church, and it is significant that the major building at Kennington was being finished only in 1362. It is inherently likely that the Prince would have arranged that designs for the chapel should be produced—presumably in the form of sketches by Yeveley—before he left for Bordeaux in February 1363, and that in his absence Yeveley would have had responsibility for the work, even if it had to be supervised by some local Canterbury mason.

The Prince's tomb, made in accordance with the directions in his will, and probably very soon after his death, is in the style of Yeveley and doubtless to his design. We have no documentary record of the making of the tomb, the effigy, or the painted canopy. The painting of the Trinity on the tester is, however, the work of a great master, and we do know of one such who worked for royal circles throughout this period: Gilbert Prince. Assistant to the famous Master Hugh of St. Albans on the wall paintings at St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace as far back as 1351, Prince succeeded Hugh as chief painter to the king about 1368 and died early in 1396. No other major painter in the royal service is known at the time, and Prince executed commissions for John of Gaunt as well as for the crown. His old master, Hugh of St. Albans, certainly worked for the Black Prince between 1351 and 1361.

The late Professor E. W. Tristram (*English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century*, 1955) suggested that the painting, though probably by Gilbert Prince, might have been by one of two other painters, Simon de Coudrey or Stephen Doget. Doget had supplied 200 standards and 144 pennons of the Prince's arms in 1347, but is not mentioned later, nor is there any evidence to suggest that he was a figure-painter. It seems decidedly improbable that he was of sufficiently high standing to be the author of the Trinity, yet not mentioned in contemporary documents, as Gilbert Prince frequently was. The same arguments are applicable to Coudrey, and it seems significant that, whereas other craftsmen were paid for works specified as 'made by' them, the large payment to Coudrey of £387 in the two years 1357-59 was 'for divers things of his craft taken for the prince's use.' This suggests that he

was the head of a shop supplying painted articles such as saddles and furniture, rather than an outstanding artist.

Among artists known to have worked for the Black Prince during his lifetime were several goldsmiths, notably John de Toppesfeld, an official changer of gold and silver to the king, and also the Prince's yeoman; he died in the Black Death in 1349. Later the Prince spent very large sums with John de Hiltoft of London, who must have made some of the magnificent items of plate mentioned in the Prince's will: the Great Cross, silver gilt and enamelled; the two basins bearing the Prince's arms; the chalice with a paten of gold, likewise bearing his arms; the two cruets carved like angels. Other goldsmiths patronised were William Ivot, and one Hankyn.

The will also describes many splendid hangings and articles of clothing: of green velvet embroidered with gold; of white diapered with a blue vine; hangings of ostrich feathers of black tapestry with a red border and bearing swans with the heads of ladies. Some of these must have been among the costly goods supplied by the 'brouderer' from Brussels, Giles Davynell, between 1355 and 1362. Davynell, who worked in London, received some £3,000 at least in those seven years. To give some sense of the value in present-day terms we must multiply by not less than 300: thus Davynell alone produced work worth now about one million pounds sterling. He was not the only embroiderer concerned: John de Nuce, who died in 1361, and John of Cologne, were paid large sums in 1355.

The Black Prince undoubtedly appreciated poetry and music. Although it was his brothers Lionel and John who were successively patrons of Chaucer, the Prince was hinted at in the description of the dancing partner of Dame Fraunchyse (noble generosity) in the *Romaunt of the Rose*:

'Al hadde he be, I sey no more,  
The lordes sone of Windesore.'

The Prince's musicians are sometimes mentioned. In October 1355 Keyser, 'the lord's minstrel,' received 20s. from his own hands as a gift; and four years later a like sum was paid to John Cokard, minstrel, to cover the costs of his stay in London.

The songs sung and music played by the Prince's minstrels have left no echo for our ears. So too are gone most of the objects of visual art made for his eyes. But at Canterbury we may still see his chantry as a specimen of architecture; his tomb and effigy as sculpture in stone and metal; the tester as carpentry and painting; and samples of the subordinate arts of the fourteenth century in his remaining funeral achievements: helm and gauntlets of armour; the shield of poplar wood covered with linen and

gesso; the leather scabbard for his lost sword, and modelled and painted crest. Above all, his velvet surcoat, embroidered, remains well nigh unique as a fragment of mediaeval courtly clothing.

What is left of the earthly body of the Black Prince lies beneath this monument; his soul is fled. But his spirit lives on, not merely as a heroic tale, inspiring future generations with admiration for his nobility, his largesse, his courage. Through these works of art which he caused to be made, his spirit took material form and enjoys another life. Nor is this limited to his chapel, his tomb, and what are left of his funeral achievements. Near by is the vast nave of the cathedral, masterwork of Henry Yeveley, the architect whose genius the Prince first recognized and fostered. Outside stand the West Gate and the Walls, also designed by Yeveley and showing that he was, like the Prince his master, a military engineer in advance of his time, as Colonel J. G. O. Whitehead, M.C., R.E., has recently shown (*The Royal Engineers Journal*, 1974). Among the many artists who worked for the Prince we must acclaim Yeveley as the great all-round master, chief architect to the two kings Edward III and Richard II, whose reigns together embrace the peak attained by English art. The link between them, son of one and father of the other, at the very centre of all that is best in our civilisation, was the Black Prince.

JOHN HARVEY

NOTE: References will be found for most of the building craftsmen in J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects* (1954) and in *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, vols. I and II (1963); and for painters J. Harvey in *The Burlington Magazine*, November 1947, vol. LXXXIX No. 536, 303-5. For other artists see *The Black Prince's Register*, vol. IV (1933); G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1841); *Calendars of Patent Rolls* and other state papers, and *Calendars of Letter-Books of the City of London*. For information on the excavations at Kennington Palace I am greatly indebted to Mr. G. J. Dawson.



## THE TOMB OF KING HENRY IV

Less than ten years after Henry, Duke of Lancaster, seized the throne from the Black Prince's son, Richard II, and deposed him, he began to suffer from bad health which eventually brought about his death in 1413, at the comparatively early age of forty-six. He was first taken ill in June, 1408, and his poor health all the following winter probably led him to make his will on January 21st, 1409.

In this he specified that he was to be buried in Canterbury Cathedral according to the discretion of his cousin, Archbishop Thomas Arundel, his son Henry (V), Prince of Wales, being named as executor. Arundel, like Henry himself, had been exiled for a time and even deprived of the Archbishopric by Richard II.

Henry Bolingbroke was the only surviving son of John of Gaunt (brother of the Black Prince) by Blanche, his first wife, daughter and heiress of Henry Plantaganet, first Duke of Lancaster. Henry was Earl of Derby and later obtained the earldoms of Hereford and Northampton through his first wife Mary de Bohun, mother of Henry V and of all the children of the future king. She died in June, 1394, and was buried with great pomp at Leicester. Eight years later, by which time he was established on the throne, Henry contracted a new alliance with Joan of Navarre, widow of Duke John of Brittany and daughter of the King of Navarre, Charles the Bad, by his wife Joan, daughter of King John of France.

Queen Joan does not seem to have been much loved by her step children and in the time of Henry V she was shut up for a while in Carisbrooke Castle accused of witchcraft.

She survived her royal husband by some twenty-four years, dying on June 10th, 1437. The tomb in its present form must date from this period since it is surmounted by royal effigies of the king and queen, both of whom are buried within. This fact was established in 1832 when the tomb was opened because it had long been suggested that the sailors who brought down the corpse of the king by water to Faversham, frightened by a storm on the voyage from London, had cast it overboard into the river. No doubt, Henry's tomb awaited the effigy of his widow for the years between their deaths. But other questions remain for discussion if not solution.

Why did Henry IV choose to be buried at Canterbury rather than at Westminster Abbey where so many English sovereigns had been interred, or even in St. Paul's Cathedral where his parents lay buried? One reason may have been the fact that Henry had



been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1392 to 1393 and he seems to have set Jerusalem as his goal in life and heaven in death.

In days when the most glorious shrine in western Christendom was at Canterbury, what other place could be nearer the heavenly Jerusalem for Henry. To lie a few feet away from the Shrine of St. Thomas was to lie also in the same Chapel as Edward the Black Prince.

To this holy place the body of King Henry was brought within a few weeks of death and it would appear that according to custom, the coffin with the embalmed body lapped in lead, lay on the pavement of the Trinity Chapel under a painted iron hearse with a vast number of wax lights burning round it and many banners with coats of arms of all Christian kings and the nobles of divers kingdoms of the world, and here on Trinity Sunday, June 18th, 1413, a solemn requiem was held in the presence of the new King Henry V, and his brothers, and all the nobility. The requiem was sung by the Archbishop (destined to follow his cousin to the grave shortly afterwards) and Prior John Wodensburgh. Whether the tomb had been prepared during Henry's lifetime or whether it was not placed in position until after the death of Queen Joan in 1437 when their chantry was brought into use and its altar hallowed to the memory of Edward the Confessor is not known. (Devotion to the Trinity is suggested by the fact that a special commemoration of the dead king by his chantry priests took place on Trinity Sunday right down to the Dissolution of the Monastery, much more than a century later.) The heraldic change in the arms of France from 'semy de lis' to three fleur de lis only, which took place at this time also stems from this devotion to the Three Persons of the One God.) It is the purpose of this article to show that on heraldic evidence the tomb may have been designed as early as 1409.

The tomb of the King and Queen is beautifully wrought in alabaster. On it are full-length effigies of the royal pair which are believed to be accurate likenesses. The King's feet lie against a lion and the Queen's against two scaly animals with large claws and short ears; these are neither collared nor chained, and it is not possible to say whether they are reptiles or whether the scaling is intended to represent fur. At the head of the tomb is a rectangular shield carved and painted with the quarterly arms of France modern and England impaling quarterly Evreux and Navarre.

Over the tomb hangs a tester of wood painted with three more shields, at the head France and England quarterly, in the centre France and England quarterly impaling Evreux and Navarre quarterly, and at the foot Evreux and Navarre quarterly. Each shield is surrounded by a collar of SS connected by two buckles

at the bottom to a trefoiled loop from which hangs a bird which resembles a golden eagle displayed.

The ornamental ground of the soffit appears to have been twice painted and in different designs. The under one, in many parts perceptible, consists of eagles and greyhounds, each surrounded by the Garter and placed alternately in diagonal stripes; between which were written the words *Souverayne* and *Atemperance* in Gothic letters. In the last painting the ground has been blue with sprigs and flowers of gold and green, the broom or *planta genista*. Here the words occupy the principal lines and eagles with wings expanded and crowned gold, and black gennets, collared chained and covered with a large gold crown are used as stops between the several words. The words, which appear to form a prayer, are repeated in the cornice of the canopy, *Atemperance* on the north side and *Souverayne* on the south, each repeated six times, with indications that a wooden moulding or carving of an eagle was set between each; the dowel holes remain.

At the head of the tomb is a painted panel that depicts the martyrdom of St. Thomas and the knights bearing arms on their surcoats; De Tracy has his on his shield and Fitzurse has a helmet with a crest of five feathers, three white and two black. At the foot of the tomb is another panel representing the coronation of Our Lady. Both these panels are very worn. The tomb was cleaned and restored by Professor Tristram in 1937 when splendid reconstructions of the painted panels were made which can be seen in various parts of the Cathedral. A further cleaning and restoration by Miss Pauline Plummer took place in 1974.

From considerations of style it seems likely that the tomb and canopy were designed and built between about 1400 and 1415, that is either during King Henry's reign or soon after his death. Stylistically, though it is modelled on the same pattern as that of the Black Prince with tomb chest, iron grille and painted tester, it belongs with the pulpitum of the Cathedral, designed and built by Stephen Lote who succeeded Henry Yevele, his partner, as architect to the Cathedral. He, dying in 1418, had completed the building of the pulpitum in Prior Chillenden's time, before 1411.

It seems likely that the splendid canopy was worked by John Wydmere, Chief Joiner from 1394 until his death in 1417. For such fine work the execution may well have occupied about three years so the design would have been completed by the start of 1413. An examination of the heraldic devices with which the tomb is profusely adorned has thrown some light on the date of the design of the tomb and canopy as a work of art, placing it not later than 1409.

The edge of the canopy has 82 shields of wood set within a carved pattern of foliage and eight larger shields borne by carved

angels at the corner and centre taper posts. These were once painted with the arms of kings and nobles, and a few of these remain visible. Below each angel was once a boss with a carved badge or beast; only one of these now remains. Gostling, writing in 1774, says that the damage done to the leafy woodwork and cornice shields was recent in his time, due to the clumsiness of the unskilled workmen employed to clean the tomb and its environs. The monument has a number of roses and fleur de lys in the decoration of wood and alabaster and moulded in the iron grille. An examination of the coats of arms on the canopy suggests they are those of persons living at the time the design was made; most of the personages concerned can be shown to have been inter-related.

Here I now give a suggested reconstruction of the coats of arms carved on the canopy when it was first set up. This rests on my own survey of the present state along with an ancient manuscript written within the century of the building of the tomb described by the late Ralph Griffin, F.S.A., a great expert on the Cathedral heraldry, and also on comments made by those who saw the tomb in previous centuries, like Gough, Hasted and Willement.

There appear to have been originally 36 shields on each side of the tomb, in three groups of twelve, separated by the taper posts and angels. I think it is also clear that the shields on the north side of the canopy merely repeated those on the south side in the opposite direction. I suggest that the following can be identified as represented by the coats of arms originally painted on the small shields between the leafy carvings of the wooden cornice of the canopy: on the south side, east to west, and on the north side, west to east.

1—St. George (Patron of England); 2—William, Lord Clinton (died 1413); 3—Scrope (either Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham, beheaded in 1415 or, more probably, Richard, 3rd Lord Scrope of Bolton, died 1420); 4—Sir Thomas Camoys (d. 1421); 5—Thomas, 5th Lord Dacre of Gillesland (d. 1458); 6—Henry, Lord Fitzhugh (d. 1425); 7—Bartholomew, 3rd Lord Bouchier (d. 1409); 8—Richard, 4th Lord Grey of Condor (d. 1418); 9—Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland (The first Earl, d. 1425); 10—Richard de Vere, 11th Earl of Oxford (d. 1417); 11—Humphrey de Stafford, Earl of Stafford and later Duke of Buckingham (d. 1460); 12—Arms of England.

In the next section all the arms are those of the members of the blood royal, of whom there were only twelve of the immediate blood royal at this time.

13—John, Duke of Brittany, son of Queen Joan and so stepson of Henry IV (d. 1442); 14—France and England quarterly . . .

this appears in all the coats from this one to 23, each one being differenced heraldically in some way. This is the coat of Richard of Coningsburgh, Earl of Cambridge (executed in 1415); 15—Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter (d. 1424); 16—Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1447); 17—Edward, Duke of York (d. 1415); 18—For the King and Queen; 19—Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales, later King Henry V; 20—Thomas, Duke of Clarence (d. 1421); 21—John, Duke of Bedford (d. 1435); 22—John de Beaufort, Earl of Somerset (d. 1410 or perhaps his son Henry, d. 1418); 23—Henry de Beaufort, Cardinal of St. Eusebius and Bishop of Winchester (d. 1447); 24—Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March (d. 1425).

In the third group are the arms of another group of courtiers: 25—Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (d. 1415); 26—Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d. 1415); 27—Robert, Baron Poyning (d. 1446); 28—Richard de Beauchamp, 11th Earl of Warwick (d. 1439); 29—Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d. 1419); 30—Richard Despenser (d. 1414); 31—William, Baron de Ros (d. 1414); 32—James de Botiler (Butler), Earl of Ormonde (d. 1452); 33—Sir William de Etchingham (d. 1413); 34—William Willoughby de Eresby (d. 1409 or perhaps his son Robert, d. 1450); 35—William, Lord Ferrers of Groby (d. 1445); 36—St. George, Patron of England (as 1).

The three shields at each end of the tomb probably bore the quarterly coats of France and England, and Evreux and Navarre for the King and Queen, and the third shield may have been for Mary Bohun (d. 1394), the King's first wife and mother of his children.

The eight angels of the paling posts of the canopy bear large shields and beneath each was apparently a carved wooden boss of a badge or beast. It would appear that these were: 1—The Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus; 2—The Eastern Empire of Byzantium or Constantinople; 3—Denmark; 4—Portugal; 5—Spain; 6—Sicily; 7—Scotland (these arms are the only ones still visible today); 8—May be either that of France or Ireland, but since all the other arms appear to be of sovereign Christian princes outside the dominions of Henry IV it is possible that the arms of Bavaria or of the King of the Romans appeared. (Rupert Elector Palatine was styled King of the Romans from 1398 until his death in 1410 but he was never Emperor or even crowned). Henry's eldest daughter, Blanche of Lancaster, married at Cologne in 1402 Louis Barbatous, afterwards Duke of Bavaria.

The King of Scotland commemorated here would be James I, born 1394; he succeeded his father Robert III on April 4th, 1406. Having been captured by the English in a sea battle he remained a prisoner for years. Before his final release he married Joan



Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt.

The arms of Constantinople stand for the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus who reigned from 1391 until his deposition by his son John in 1423. He visited Canterbury while in England attempting to secure English support against the power of Islam which was to overwhelm the Eastern Empire in 1453. His coat appears in the Cloisters and so does that of Denmark quartered with Sweden, Pomerania and Norway. This refers to the marriage of King Eric with Henry's youngest daughter Phillippa of Lancaster. He had been crowned King of the united realms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark at the instance of his great aunt Margaret, regent of these three Scandinavian realms, 1397.

The arms of the kingdom of Portugal recall the marriage of King John I of Portugal with Henry IV's sister Philippa, the eldest child of John of Gaunt. The Spanish coat of Castile and Leon quarterly commemorated the marriage of Henry III of Castile to Catherine, another daughter of John of Gaunt who had married Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile.

The coat of Sicily is of the first importance for the dating of this tomb. Martin I of Sicily married after 1402, when his first wife died, Blanche, the eventual heiress of Navarre and niece of Queen Joan. At his death in 1409 he was succeeded by his father Martin I, King of Aragon, who became Martin II of Sicily. Blanche married in 1415 John II of Castile, nephew by marriage of Catherine of Lancaster (Queen of Castile and Leon), King Henry IV's half sister. On the succession of Martin II as King of Sicily as well as Aragon the arms of the two kingdoms were joined, and remain so to this day. The coat described in near-contemporary documents and illustrated by others before it disappeared from the canopy is, without doubt, the uncombined arms of Sicily and has, therefore, a unique significance above all the other arms of the canopy, for it would be most unlikely to commemorate a kingdom which had become united, both armorially, and in fact with another on a tomb such as this. It limits the date of the heraldry of the canopy conclusively since the date, at latest, when the heraldry of the canopy had been decided upon would be before 1409, before news of the succession of Martin II to the throne of Sicily, previously held by his son, reached England.

Only one of the boss badges survives beneath the sovereign shields: the ermine of Brittany. This is a beautiful carving of a large golden crown over the collared and chained beast. (The ermine is a kind of stoat.)

Nothing is known as to what the other badges may have been.



Henry IV used as badges the ostrich feather, the swan, an antelope, a red rose, a fleur de lys, a tree stock and a fox's brush, as well as the heraldic lion of England, at different times, and any of these might have once served as badges here.

One final problem remains unsolved. What factor governed the choice of the particular earls, barons and knights who were commemorated on the 36 small shields of the canopy, other than the royal ones which need no explanation. They do not seem to be those of representative mourners at the funeral ceremony or Henry's most trusted courtiers, for the arms of Mowbray, Erpingham, Pelham, Wakering, Stanley, Beaumont and Bergavenny—all prominent names in the events and affairs of his reign—are absent. One possible explanation remains. Some of the knights whose arms appear had earlier applied for membership of a new order of chivalry, the Order of the Passion, which Philippe de Mèzieres had sought to found before his death in 1405 rendered the enterprise abortive. Henry IV is known to have favoured this idea which may have been linked in his mind with the conquest of Jerusalem. Even before his accession in 1394 he had promised support for such an order. It is possible that when he first fell ill in 1408 and made his will, Jerusalem may have been in his mind again. If he made an attempt to form a new order the arms ordered to be carved on the canopy over his tomb may have been intended to represent the living English knights-elect of this new order. More than five and a half centuries after the monarch's death we can only speculate. We are never likely to know.

CECIL R. HUMPHERY-SMITH

## NOTICES

Canon D. Ingram Hill, formerly Rural Dean of Canterbury, Master of Eastbridge Hospital and Rector of St. Peter with St. Alphege and St. Mildred, Canterbury, has succeeded Canon T. E. Prichard as Residentiary Canon of Canterbury Cathedral. He was installed on January 31st, 1976, and is now Vice-Chairman of The Friends.

The Revd. Andrew P. N. Humphries has been appointed Sacrist of the Cathedral, replacing the Revd. K. Wilkie Denford who has become Rector of St. Andrews, West Tarring, Sussex.

Mr. Brian Le Mar succeeded Mr. B. C. Doughty as Clerk of Works in June, 1975.

## ORDER FORM

*Please supply ..... copy / copies of  
“ Christ’s Glorious Church — The Story of Canterbury  
Cathedral ” @ £1.95 per copy to:*

.....  
.....  
.....

NAME AND ADDRESS

*Payment herewith: £.....  
(including postage where appropriate)*

*Signature: .....*

*Date:.....*







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THE  
FRIENDS  
OF  
CANTERBURY  
CATHEDRAL

**SUPPLEMENT TO THE 70TH CHRONICLE**

STEWARDS' LETTER

April 1976

Dear Friends,

Thanks to extra donations by many of you to the Cathedral Appeal through this office, and to some unrepeatable economies we were able to make last year in running the office, the Friends have, over the past 12 months, not only been able to maintain but have actually raised the recent high level of annual Friends' gifts and services to the Cathedral. Never let it be imagined, however, that we have somehow discovered a panacea for inflation.

Administration costs sadly mount daily in every direction, and I foresee a much reduced "Surplus for the Year" figure in our Income & Expenditure Accounts to 30th September 1976 compared with the £5000-plus "surplus" shown in the September 1974/75 Accounts. There is just no escaping the fact that the Society will rapidly decline in its capacity to serve the Cathedral unless we succeed not only in our plans to treble membership by 1977, but in immediately rectifying the sorry state of affairs where more than 1000 existing members (in all but perhaps a dozen cases solely from old habit or through failure to amend long-standing Bankers Orders), still contribute at most £1 per year despite 5 years having passed since we first asked for a minimum subscription of £2. With our present membership of little over 3000 it now costs 50p. simply to print and post the Chronicle!

It looks as though many more than the 150 for whom the Chapter House is equipped to cater will wish to come to Friends' Evenings this year. This means that the Friends' Office will need to allocate tickets strictly in order of receipt of applications, and to be fair to all, it may also be necessary to "ration" regular early applicants for both Evenings to 1 Evening only. Would these latter Friends therefore please indicate a reluctant preference for either the Spring or Autumn just in case we are driven to rationing?

With thanks for all you have given and continue to give. I'm sorry this letter otherwise needs to be so admonitory in content.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN NICHOLAS.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
FRIENDS' EVENTS 1976

(Admission to member Friends and guests only)

EVENT No.1

SPRING EVENING

Thursday

3rd June

5.30-9.00pm.

CHAPTER HOUSE

CATHEDRAL &

CLOISTERS

TICKETS:

Restricted

number

£1.50 each

immediate

application

advised.

PROGRAMME:

Buffet Supper with wine/soft drinks/coffee.

Display of Masons' Art with Mr Brian Le Mar available in Great Cloister to answer questions.

Visits to St.Gabriel's Chapel and Black Prince Chantry in Crypt by 3 separate groups led by Canon Hill who will speak briefly about these Chapels in the Chapter House at 6.45 pm.

The Corona Tower will be open to those wishing to visit it, and a recital by the Niblett Handbell Ringers will be given in the Trinity Chapel for those awaiting their turn to visit the Crypt.

EVENT No.4

AUTUMN EVENING

Thursday

6th September

5.30-9.00pm

CHAPTER HOUSE

CATHEDRAL &

LIBRARY

TICKETS:

Restricted

number

£1.50 each

PROGRAMME:

Buffet Supper with wine/soft drinks/coffee.

After some introductory remarks in the Chapter House, Canon Robinson will talk from the Nave pulpit about Nave Memorials for some 15 minutes from 7.00 pm. Following this talk and their inspection of Nave Memorials, Friends are invited to visit the main Hall of the Library where Miss Oakley, the Cathedral Archivist, will have some special things on display and be available to answer questions until 8.00 pm.

Early application

advised.

See page 5.

EVENT No. 3

FRIENDS' DAY

Saturday  
17th July

PROGRAMME:

QUIRE

11.00am

Sung Eucharist

MARQUEE ON

GREEN COURT

12.30 - 1.45pm Cold Buffet luncheon

EASTERN CRYPT

2.00pm

Annual Meeting

It is uncertain at this date whether there will be a Cloister Bay Dedication following the Meeting, if not Friends may like to look briefly at the Crypt Exhibition before Evensong.

QUIRE

3.15pm

Festal Evensong

MARQUEE ON

GREEN COURT

4.30pm

Informal Tea

TICKET DETAILS:

The cost of a ticket for the Day covering  
both lunch and tea £1.50

The cost of a lunch ticket only 1.20

" " " " tea " " .30p

Please use the form on page 5 for ordering tickets, returning it to the Friends' Office as soon as possible and NO LATER than 3rd July when for Catering reasons it will be necessary to stop the sale of tickets save perhaps a dozen held in reserve for last minute arrivals from abroad etc.

FRIENDS MAY WISH TO NOTE NOW THAT 1977 IS OUR JUBILEE YEAR (the 50th Anniversary of the foundation of The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral in 1927). Plans are presently being laid for a special Friends' Festival next year which could cover the presentation of a number of artistic events and mark the climax of efforts ALL FRIENDS will, it is hoped, make during the coming year to treble Membership.



## NOTES TO THE GENERAL FUND

	Year ended		Year ended	
	30/9/76		30/9/75	
	£	£	£	£
1 GENERAL FUND — OFFICE OVERHEAD EXPENSES				
Rates, Water and Insurance ... ..		277		344
Light, Heat and Cleaning ... ..		443		270
Printing and Stationery ... ..		335		197
Postage ... ..		260		324
Telephone ... ..		161		83
Equipment: Repairs and Renewals ... ..		112		47
Depreciation ... ..		54		59
Travel ... ..		428		345
Accountancy ... ..		364		241
Miscellaneous ... ..		43		78
		<u>£2,477</u>		<u>£1,988</u>
2 GIFTS TO CATHEDRAL				
Towards Restoration of Mural Paintings		4,500		—
Towards Restoration of "Jubilee"				
Cloister Bay ... ..		3,000		—
Register of Gifts ... ..		86		—
Sculpture Model of Davidson Tomb ... ..		14		—
		<u>£7,600</u>		<u>—</u>

## NOTES TO THE BALANCE SHEET

3. OFFICE EQUIPMENT				
Cost less Depreciation at 30/9/75 ... ..		536		496
Additions during year ... ..		—		99
		<u>536</u>		<u>595</u>
Less: Depreciation at 10% ... ..		54		59
		<u>£482</u>		<u>£536</u>
4. CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND				
Cash at Lloyds Bank Ltd.—				
Current Accounts ... ..		1,235		3,922
Deposit Account ... ..		4,938		3,935
Cash at National Savings Bank—				
Ordinary Account ... ..		56		65
Special Investment Account ... ..		1,039		992
Cash in Hand ... ..		55		59
		<u>£7,323</u>		<u>£8,973</u>
5. CLOISTER BAYS FUND				
Income: Subscriptions and Donations ... ..		60		200
Interest—Notional ... ..		205		187
Actual ... ..		49		—
		<u>314</u>		<u>387</u>
Transfer of Margaret Babington Memorial Fund		—		1,057
Accumulated Fund at start of year ... ..		3,573		2,129
		<u>£3,887</u>		<u>£3,573</u>

FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

**BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS**

30th SEPTEMBER 1976

Friday  
5th June  
CATHEDRAL &  
RECIINCTS

PROGRAMME:

A day commemorating the 600th Anniversary Year of the death of the Black Prince and his burial in the Cathedral. 6 Corporate Member Schools will perform their own interpretations of incidents in the Black Prince's life in the "theatre" of the central Quire area.

AVE  
0.15 am

Short Service to start the Day.

UIRE  
0.35 - 12.35

4 of the play sequences will be performed using Quire sound system so that all schools present in the Quire may not only see but hear.

2.40 - 2.10

Lunch break. Bar-B-Que in Water Tower Garden (Tickets 35p), plus separate stalls at which ice-cream and soft drinks may be bought at cost price.

15pm - 3.15

2 further plays will be performed ending with a hymn in which all will join before the Blessing and departure.

---

WILL ALL SCHOOLS PLEASE NOTIFY THE FRIENDS' OFFICE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BOTH OF NUMBERS EXPECTED TO ATTEND YOUTH DAY, AND NUMBER OF BAR-B-QUE TICKETS REQUIRED. THE FORM ON REVERSE MAY BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE IF SCHOOLS FIND THAT MOST CONVENIENT.

AT LEAST TWO 'SITTINGS' WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE BAR-B-QUE. BEFORE OR AFTER EATING THERE WILL BE TIME DURING THE LUNCH BREAK TO 'EXPLORE' WITHOUT NEEDING TO MISS THE RE-OPENING OF THE 'THEATRE' PERFORMANCES IN THE QUIRE.

TICKET ORDER FORM  
FRIENDS' EVENTS 1976.

(For return to Friends' Office at earliest date possible)

Tickets  
Required

Event 1  
Spring Evg. \_\_\_\_\_ @ £1.50 each

Event 2  
Youth Day, \_\_\_\_\_ Bar-B-Que @ 35p \_\_\_\_\_  
(expected numbers attending Day)

Event 3  
Friends' Day \_\_\_\_\_ @ £1.50 each  
\_\_\_\_\_ @ £1.20 " ONLY  
\_\_\_\_\_ @ .30p " ONLY

Event 4  
Autumn Evg. \_\_\_\_\_ @ £1.50 each

PAYMENT DETAILS

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

REQUESTS:

Please send Stamped Addressed Envelopes.

## DEATH OF FRIENDS

March 1, 1975 - February 29, 1976.

BALL, Mrs. W. A. R.	JELF, Lady
BANES, Miss D. M.	JARVIS, Mrs. M. G.
EGERTON-BANKS, Mrs S. J.	JONES, Mr E.
BARRIS, Mrs N. J.	KELSEY, Miss P.
BELL, Mr. A	KENNEDY, Mrs N. M.
BINDEN, Miss R.	LAMB, The Rev. C. M.
BIRDWOOD, Mrs A. C.	LAMKIN, Mr C.
FFRENCH-BLAKE, Mrs I.	LAURENCE, Lt. Col. R. A.
BONE, Mr G. R.	LEACH, Miss L. V. P.
BOVENSCHEN, Lady	LOVE, Miss M.
BRADSHAW, Mrs L.	LOWIS, Mrs. J.
CLEMENTS, Miss	LUTTMAN, Mrs C. C.
CLIFFORD, Mr C.	McMULLAN, Miss E.
COURT, Miss D. K.	MARKHAM, Mrs I.
COURTHOPE, Miss E. J.	MAXTON, Miss M.
DAVIDSON, Miss E. M.	MORE, Miss M. E.
DAVIS, Mr G. J.	MYEREA, Miss I. A. H.
DAWSON, Mrs E. T.	OSTLER, Mrs G. J.
DENMAN, Mr J. L.	PALMER, Mrs E. M.
DEVAS, Mrs J.	PERRY, Mrs R. A.
DUNN, Mrs F. A.	PRENTICE, Miss J. H.
DYNELEY, Miss C. B.	PRICHARD, The Rev. Canon T
BEAUMONT-EDMONDS, Mrs O. S.	POMFRET, Mrs D.
ELLERTON, Miss N	ROBERTSON, Miss J
ELLISON, Mrs H. B.	SAGE, Miss T. M.
FANING, Miss L. E.	SAYER, Mrs H. M.
FLEET, Miss A.	SCHOOLING, Miss M. L.
GARDNER, Mr W.	SKINGLEY, Mr T. W.
GREAVES, Mr D. S.	SMITH, Mrs R.
HART, Mr. R.	TOLPUTT, Miss K. A.
HARVEY, The Rev H. R.	SYMES, Major-Gen. G. W.
HAYNES, Mr B. M.	TUCKER, Mrs. I.
HARTUNG Miss F.	UNWIN, Mrs. P. H.
HICHLIN, Miss B.	WHITING, Miss G. M.
HILL, Miss E. M.	WIGRAM, Miss K. M.
HOLTHOUSE, Mr. C. S.	VEEVERS, Miss A. M.
HULGRAVE, Mr H. G.	ZEHEMAYR, Miss V. L.



THE FRIENDS OFFICE, 8 THE PRECINCTS, CANTERBURY CT1 2EE  
Telephone: Canterbury 62806

### NOTICES

FRIENDS' EVENINGS 1976 ----- Thursdays 3rd June & 16th Sept.

FRIENDS DAY (changed from June) ----- Saturday 17th July 1976

#### EXHIBITIONS:

Story of a Cathedral --- Crypt. Admission normally 10-6 weekday  
10-5 Sundays  
Paintings by John Doyle --- Chapter House 23rd July - 4th Sept.

#### THE GUIDES OF KENT CATHEDRAL APPEAL:

This Appeal was inaugurated by The Archbishop of Canterbury at Easter 1975 when, on the Saturday, he received the first tokens at the West door of the Cathedral from Guides and Brownies who had come to Canterbury from all parts of Kent.

It is the outcome of a suggestion by Miss Adela S. Yorke of Tenterden, former Kent East County Commissioner, that a special effort should be made to support the Cathedral Restoration Fund and the response has been so good that not only will the sum raised pay for the restoration of a Cloister Bay, but also contribute to restoring the 12th century "Shem" window from the North Transept of the Quire.

Guides, Rangers and Brownies have used all manner of ways in which to raise money, including 'sponsored silences'.

To mark the culmination of their Appeal there is to be a special Service in the Cathedral on Saturday, May 8th, at which the Archbishop will preach, and the Dean be presented with the final sums raised. It will be one of the Dean's last public acts before his retirement the following day as Dean of Canterbury.

Among those expected to attend the Service are Mrs. L.E. Grosfield, the last County Commissioner for all Kent, and the four present County Commissioners: Mrs Nancy Clifford (Kent East), Mrs Shirley Strong (Greater London Kent), Mrs Dora Pugh (Kent Weald), and Mrs Sylvia Gidley-Kitchin (Kent West).





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